

Loughborough University Institutional Repository

The changing nature of the ideology of Olympism in the modern Olympic era

This item was submitted to Loughborough University's Institutional Repository by the/an author.

Additional Information:

- A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

Metadata Record: <https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/2820>

Please cite the published version.

This item was submitted to Loughborough's Institutional Repository by the author and is made available under the following Creative Commons Licence conditions.



creative commons
COMMONS DEED

Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.5

You are free:

- to copy, distribute, display, and perform the work

Under the following conditions:

 **Attribution.** You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author or licensor.

 **Noncommercial.** You may not use this work for commercial purposes.

 **No Derivative Works.** You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

- For any reuse or distribution, you must make clear to others the license terms of this work.
- Any of these conditions can be waived if you get permission from the copyright holder.

Your fair use and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

This is a human-readable summary of the [Legal Code \(the full license\)](#).

[Disclaimer](#) 

For the full text of this licence, please go to:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/>

**The Changing Nature of the Ideology of Olympism
in the Modern Olympic Era**

By

Dikaia Chatziefstathiou

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of
Philosophy of Loughborough University

April, 2005

© D. Chatziefstathiou

ABSTRACT

This thesis has sought to identify and evaluate the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism in the modern era against the contemporaneous historical, socio-political and economic contexts, as expressed through the writings of key sets of actors. The theoretical approaches of modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation were chosen on the basis of assisting the author to understand global phenomena and conceptualise global shifts. This study examined the emergence, development and expansion of Olympism during Coubertin's years (1887-1937). It continued with the struggle for survival through the period of the two World Wars and the start of the Cold War during Diem's years (1912-1961) (part of which chronologically overlapped with the last period of Coubertin's analysis). And finally, it concluded with the escalation and the end of the Cold War, followed by a new era for the global economic and political interests, as evidenced in guest lectures of the IOA in relation to Olympism and the modern Olympic Movement (1961-1998). It adopted a critical realist ontology and epistemology, and employed the Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) derived from Altheide (1996), a variation of the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). This study demonstrated how the values associated with the ideology of Olympism have changed during the period of one hundred and eleven years (1887-1998), while, having highlighted the culturally diverse meanings and values associated with Olympic sport in the contemporary world, it emphasised that Olympism may be defined, not as a set of immutable values, but as a process for consensus construction in terms of values in the world of global sport.

Keywords: Olympism, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, Carl Diem, International Olympic Academy, modern Olympic Movement, Ethnographic Content Analysis, NUD*IST.

The learning and knowledge that we have is at the most, but little compared with that of which we are ignorant.

Plato

*This thesis is dedicated to my parents
who always encouraged me to keep learning.*

Σας Ευχαριστώ

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis, after three and a half years of hard work, has now been completed. It has been a difficult process, a lesson of life for me, which has taught me how to cope with hard tasks and unforeseen circumstances, always focusing on 'what I can do' and not on what 'I cannot'. However, this thesis would not be completed without the guidance and support of my two supervisors, Professor Ian Henry and Dr. Eleni Theodoraki. I would like to thank Ian, because his expertise, knowledge and dedication in academic work have been inspiring for me to such a degree that extends beyond the limited scope of a PhD. I would also like to thank Eleni for her pragmatic approach, always asking the 'tricky' question "how would you explain what is your PhD about to your granny?" that has enabled me to maintain a 'focus' throughout the research process.

Of course this research would not materialise without the financial support of a full scholarship for the duration of three and a half years, awarded by the State Institute of Scholarships (IKY) of Greece. In relation to my finances, I would also like to thank the Hardship Fund Committee of Loughborough University, and personally the Chairman Mr. Howard Jones, and his secretary Mrs. Mary Cajkler, for understanding my difficult financial situation and providing me with a hardship fund which helped me to concentrate on the completion of my thesis.

I also particularly like to thank Mr. Dave Travers, Partnership Officer of the Teacher Education Unit at Loughborough University, employer at my part-time administrative post, whose understanding, support and flexibility enabled me to maintain this post without any cost for my PhD duties. Thanks also is extended to the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy for providing training of excellent standards throughout the PhD studies, but may be more importantly, for providing a friendly and social environment through seminars and regular contacts with other PhD candidates, facilitating the 'lonely' PhD process. I would also like to thank both the 'old' and the 'new guard' of colleagues who have been in the 'famous hut', a centre of academic discussions, and of good, 'relaxed' time with friends. Special thanks to Dr. Mahfoud Amara who, having witnessed all the years of my effort, has always been supportive and given me new ideas and dimensions of thinking.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for providing me with continuous support and encouragement throughout my PhD studies. My mother Eleftheria always reminded me to believe in myself, my eldest brother Michalis never stopped sending me newspapers' cuttings to keep me informed, and my elder brother Dimitris always lifted my spirit with his great humour. As for my beloved father, though not with us any longer, his mind and spirit have always guided my way. Lastly, but certainly not least, I would like to thank Dr. Sashi Balakrishnan, for whom I have no words to express my gratitude and love for all he has done for me in every possible way. His experience in the academic field and his moral support have provided me with knowledge, strength and motivation to complete this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
Chapter 1	13
Introduction	13
1.1 Olympism	13
Chapter 2	21
Theoretical Framework	21
2.1 Introduction	21
2.2 Modernisation Theory	21
2.3 Cultural Imperialism Theory	29
2.4 Globalisation Theories	40
2.4.1 The Concept of Globalisation	41
2.4.2 Globalisation Debates	45
2.4.3 Cultural Globalisation	49
2.4.4 Sport, Culture and Globalisation	57
2.5 The Olympic Ideology: Critical Comments and Remarks	65
2.6 Conclusion	72
Chapter 3	74
Historical Framework of the Olympic Movement: Geo-political, Cultural and Economic Dimensions	74
3.1 Introduction	74
3.2 Olympic Historiography	74
3.3 Chronology of history: different approaches	78
3.4 Imperialism and the Olympic Movement	81
3.4.1 Baron Pierre de Coubertin	84
3.4.2 Modern Olympic Games: The Revival and the Early Years	87
3.5 Late Imperialism: The Inter-War Period 1914-1944	94
3.5.1 Alternative Games: Socialist and Women's Olympics	96
3.5.2 Authoritarian Regimes: Supernationalism and the Nazi Olympics	98
3.5.3 Colonialism, Regional Games and the Olympic Movement	104

3.6 Post War II 1945-1980s: Neo-Colonialism and Cold War	106
3.6.1 Cold War, Opposing Ideologies and the Olympic Movement	110
3.7 Post-Cold War 1990-2000s: Twenty-First Century World Order	123
3.7.1 Unipolar or Multipolar New World Order?	126
3.7.2 The Contemporary Global Olympic Movement	128
3.8 Summary	133
Chapter 4	134
Research Strategy and Methodological Implications	134
4.1 Introduction	134
4.2 Philosophical Approaches and Paradigmatic Debates	135
4.2.1 Philosophical and Methodological Concerns	138
4.3 Theoretical Adequacy	143
4.3.1 Researching Olympism as 'Ideology'	143
4.3.2 Framework of Analysis	148
4.4 Application of Method: Data Analysis	154
4.4.1 Document Analysis	154
4.4.2 Assessing Documents	155
4.4.3 Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)	159
4.5 Data Sampling and Collection	162
4.6 Data Coding and Categorising	168
4.7 Computer-Aided Data Analysis	170
4.8 Issues Under Consideration	173
4.9 Conclusion	174
Chapter 5	176
The Years of Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1887-1937)	176
5.1 Introduction	176
5.2 Precursors of Olympism (1887-1894)	177
5.2.1 The Need for Social Reform	178
5.2.2 The English Education System	180
5.3 The Early Years of Olympism (1894-1918)	191
5.3.1 The Revival of Modern Olympic Games	191
5.3.2 Ideological Components of Olympism	197
5.4 Expansion of the Olympic Movement (1918-1937)	214
5.4.1 The Inter War Crisis: Alternative Olympics	216
5.4.2 Olympisation: Power and Control over the Regional Games	233

Chapter 6	250
Carl Diem's Role in the Olympic Movement (1912-1961)	250
6.1 Introduction	250
6.2 The Pre-Nazi Phase: The Early Years of Carl Diem's Involvement in the Olympic Movement (1912-1933)	253
6.2.1 Typology of Nationalism(s): The German Model	258
6.2.2 Tension Between German Nationalism and Olympic Internationalism	259
6.2.3 Diem and the 'Volkish' ideology	262
6.3 The Nazi Phase (1933-1944)	271
6.3.1 The Berlin Games of 1936	272
6.3.2 Coubertin and Diem	278
6.4 The Post-Nazi Phase: Olympic Internationalism?	283
6.4.1 True Internationalism or a Eurocentric Worldview?	286
6.4.2 The International Olympic Academy	294
Chapter 7	301
The International Olympic Academy	301
(1961-1998)	301
7.1 Introduction	301
7.2 The IOA During the Cold War (1961-1989)	306
7.2.1 Politics and the Olympic Games	306
7.2.2 The Shift from Amateurism to Professionalism	313
7.2.3 Doping and the Olympic Movement	324
7.2.4 Women and the Olympic Movement	333
7.3 The IOA in the Post- Cold War Period	339
7.3.1 The Shift to Liberal Democracy and Capitalism	340
7.3.2 Power of the West: Cultural Imperialism and Marginalisation of Local Sport Cultures	345
7.3.3 Adaptability of Olympism: New and Outdated Values	352
Chapter 8	360
Conclusions	360
8.1 Introduction	360
8.2 The Contested Nature of Olympism	361
8.3 Theorising the Changing Nature of the Ideology of Olympism	364
8.3.1 Modernisation	365
8.3.2 Cultural Imperialism	367

8.3.3 Globalisation Theories.....	370
8.4 Is Olympism a Vacuous Philosophy?.....	378
8.5 Contribution to Knowledge and Implications to Future Research.....	381
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	384
APPENDICES.....	412
APPENDIX I.....	413
APPENDIX II.....	418
APPENDIX III.....	424
APPENDIX IV.....	428

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Assumptions about culture	51
Table 2.2 Globalisation as homogenisation and as diversification	56
Table 2.3 Consequences of globalisation in the Olympic context	64
Table 4.1 Hierarchy of methodological issues	135
Table 4.2 Theoretical framework of analysis	151-153
Table 4.3 Quantitative and Ethnographic Content Analysis	161
Table 4.4 Assessment of relevance of documents with the research protocol	167

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Map of the Thesis	17
Figure 4.1 Political ideology	143
Figure 4.2 The process of Qualitative Document Analysis	162
Figure 4.3 The research protocol	169
Figure 4.4 Structure and operation of NUD*IST	172
Figure 5.1 A simplified model of the relationship between Hellenic and other cultural/civilisation influences	206
Figure 8.1 Olympism in early and late modernity	377

Introduction

1.1 Olympism

The focus of this thesis is the ideology of Olympism, and in particular the expression of its values across time. The term 'Olympism' was first coined by the founder of the modern Olympic Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin (Segrave and Chu 1981). Coubertin understood, towards the end of the nineteenth century, that sport would become a central point of popular culture and was working towards the definition of a universal philosophy that would have sport and physical activity at its core (Parry 1994). In his *Memoires Olympiques* (1931) Coubertin interpreted Olympism as a "school of nobility and of moral purity as well as of endurance and physical energy – but only if...honesty and sportsman-like unselfishness are as highly developed as the strength of muscles" p. 208). Thus, Olympism, for Coubertin, aimed at the harmonious development of the intellectual, moral and physical aspects of a human being through athletic competition (Segrave and Chu 1981).

The concept of Olympism and the content of the Olympic philosophy has always been strongly linked with education. Coubertin was working towards an educational reform in collaboration with the French government. While he travelled in England, Germany, America and Canada visiting educational institutions, he was inspired by sport education in England and the intercollegiate competitions in America and Canada (Müller 2000). His biographers (Weber 1970; Eyquem 1981; MacAloon 1981) suggest that Coubertin, after years of study and field research, developed his project for the Olympic Games as a response to political and social crises in his country. He was deeply concerned with the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation which resulted in poverty and conflict (Kidd 1996). Thus, Olympism came as a product of many different influences and trends but it was also related to Coubertin's concern for the reform of French education (Müller 2000; Kidd 1996). Coubertin viewed education as "the key to human happiness" and he was convinced that education

should be the response "to the accelerated pace of change in the world" (Müller 2000: 25).

The fundamental principles of Olympism are stated in the Olympic Charter, of which the first version is estimated to have been published around 1898. Since then, the Olympic Charter has been the official 'rule book' of the International Olympic Committee (Loland 1994), and as is stated in the Charter itself (Olympic Charter 2004), it constitutes "the codification of the Fundamental Principles, Rules and Bye-Laws adopted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). It governs the organisation, action and operation of the Olympic Movement and sets forth the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games" (p. 7). The Olympic Movement consists of the IOC, the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games (OCOGs), the NOCs, the IFs, the national associations, clubs and, of course, the athletes (IOC official website 2005). The Olympic Charter (2004) provides the following information in relation to Olympism:

Modern Olympism was conceived by Pierre de Coubertin, on whose initiative the International Athletic Congress of Paris was held in June 1894. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) constituted itself on 23rd of June 1894. In August 1994, the XII Congress, Centennial Olympic Congress, which was entitled the 'Congress of Unity', was held in Paris. (p. 8)

Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles. (Fundamental Principle 1; p. 9)

The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity. (Fundamental Principle 2; p. 9)

Loland (1994) has argued that Olympism, from the perspective of the history of ideas, has four main goals: a) to educate and cultivate the individual through sport, b) to cultivate the relation of men (sic) in society, c) to promote international understanding and peace, and d) to worship human greatness and possibility (pp. 36-38). Its definitions have been various (Arnold 1996). It has been referred to as a social philosophy which emphasises the role of sport in world development, peaceful co-existence, international understanding and social and moral education (Parry 1994). It has also been defined as "sport in the service of man (sic) everywhere" (Lekarska 1988: 73) "the pursuit of excellence in a chivalrous manner" (Clarke 1988:

99), "a nebula of speeches, a sea of myths, ideologies and prejudices" (Caillat and Brohm 1984; cited in Landry 1985: 143). Our analysis, therefore, seeks to understand how modern Olympism is defined and understood by key actors in different times and how this understanding reflects and/or reproduces the relations between the individuals who are engaged in the decision-making processes of the movement in conjunction with the economic-political-cultural interests which they represent.

Hoberman (1995) sees Olympism in parallel with other 'idealistic internationalisms' which appeared in three periods that are roughly separated by the First and Second World War. The establishment of the Olympic Movement in 1894 coincided with the increasing number of a broad range of international organisations, all sharing humanistic and universal values (Hoberman 1995). These organisations were products of late nineteenth-century liberalism, which emphasised values of equality, fairness, justice, respect for persons, rationality, international understanding, peace, autonomy and excellence (Hoberman 1995; Parry 1994). Coubertin's contribution was to locate these values in the milieu of sport. Parry (1997) emphasises that Olympism shares the values of liberal humanism or perhaps simply humanism, and this position justifies why socialist societies found little difficulty in including implications of Olympism within their own ideology. Boulogne (1999) similarly emphasises the point that "Coubertinian neo-Olympism asserted itself as a humanism" (p.37). Anthony (1994) also supports the idea that Olympism and humanism share the very same purposes. Furthermore, Olympic leaders and dominant Olympic institutions claim that "Olympism is Humanism" (MacAloon 1996: 69).

Despite its grand ideals that are included in the Olympic Charter, Olympism has been subjected to major criticisms (Hoberman 1986; Simson and Jennings 1991; Hill 1992). The rise of nationalisms, the involvement of politics with the appearance of successive boycotts, accelerating commercialisation, the professionalisation of athletes, discrimination against race, gender and ethnicity in the Olympic arena, the Eurocentric and western character of the Olympic Movement, and the scandals concerning bribery of the IOC members represent some of the major criticisms against the modern Olympic Movement. The Olympic leaders and their moral values were questioned and subjected to severe scrutiny when certain incidents at the

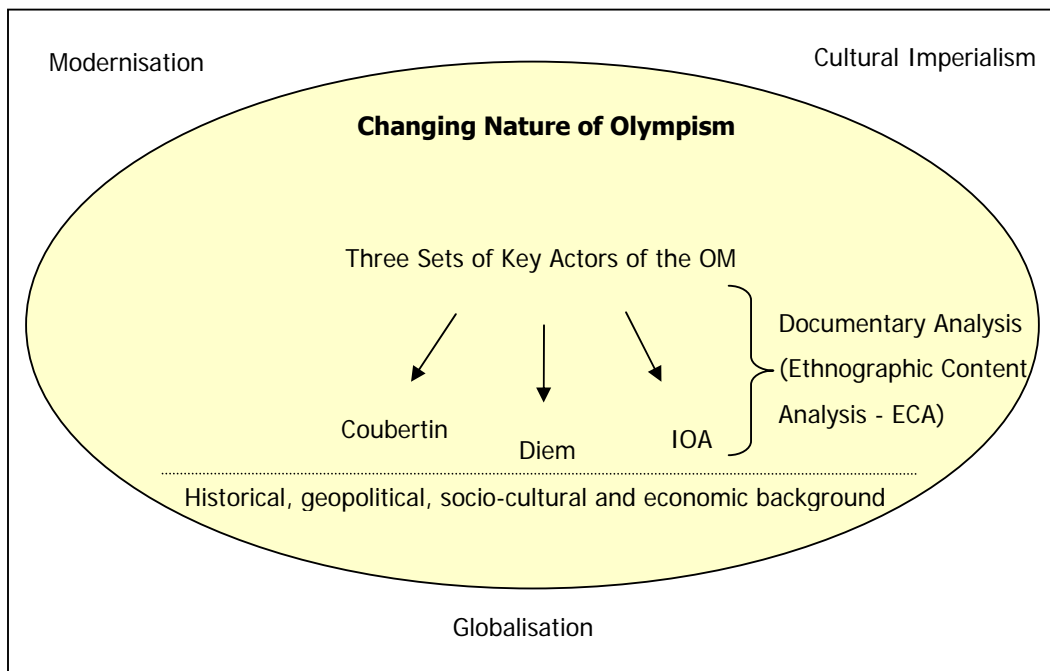
Winter Olympic Games of 2002 in Salt Lake City were revealed. This is perhaps the most illustrating example of the big gap that exists between organisational ideals and organisational conduct within the Olympic Movement (Segrave 2000). Simson and Jennings (1992) have accused the Olympic leaders of bribery, hypocrisy and other serious shortcomings, though their arguments are partially undermined by the “overblown rhetoric” employed by the authors (Houlihan 1994b: 109). Seppanen (1984), without reaching the extremes of Simson and Jennings, has also criticised the Olympic Movement for its inability to promote the Olympic ideals. In similar vein, for others, the Games have become a global business and the values embedded in the Olympic Charter have almost been forgotten (Milton-Smith 2002).

The changing nature of the ideology of Olympism against the broader contemporaneous historical, geopolitical, socio-cultural and economic contexts reflect the principal concerns of this thesis, and will be discussed in relation to the activities of the Olympic Movement and the commentaries of others. The aim of the research is to identify the process of the expression of values associated with this ideology, examining motives, interests and intentions in relation to the promotion of Olympism against the historical, geopolitical, socio-cultural and economic background of the modern Olympic Movement. This is done through an analysis of related documentary sources, largely reports, correspondence, articles and speeches written by key actors of the Movement. These actors have been selected on two criteria: a) their crucial role in the Olympic Movement, and b) their contribution to knowledge on Olympism in different, successive time periods. Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Carl Diem (1882-1962), close collaborator of Coubertin and initiator of many Olympic innovations (such as the torch relay and the Olympic Village), and selected visiting lecturers of the International Olympic Academy (IOA), an important academic centre for the dissemination of Olympism since 1961 up to the present day, meet the above criteria and, therefore, have been considered as appropriate sources for analysis for the purposes of the study.

In examining Olympism, this thesis aims to highlight the value flows of the philosophy and to evaluate the theories of modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation as explanation frameworks for understanding the changing nature of Olympism and the interests involved in its promotion. The major method employed in the empirical elements of the thesis is that of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), a

variation of qualitative content analysis. In ECA a categorisation process is operationalised to allow investigation of underlying themes in the data sources (in this instance the writings, correspondence and speeches of the selected key actors). The analysis was assisted by the application of NUD*IST software for managing qualitative data in documentary research based on coding and categorising techniques. The diagram that follows (diagram 1.1) illustrates the outline of the thesis.

Figure 1.1 Map of the thesis



1.2 Structure of the Thesis

The *first chapter* aims to furnish the reader with the key themes addressed in the thesis, and the context of the study. The *second chapter* deals with the review of theoretical approaches of modernisation thesis, cultural imperialism and globalisation. Each implies a different explanation of factors leading to the emergence, development and expansion of Olympism within the global system. All three approaches are adopted as lenses through which an analysis of Olympism is undertaken. The purpose of this review is to conceptualise the context of the global order wherein Olympism has been formed and promoted.

In *chapter three* the historical context of the development of the Olympic Movement is reviewed. The influential forces of global politics, economics and culture are seen in relation to the development of the movement, while an account of the impact of World War I, World War II and Cold War contributes to an understanding of the struggle, survival and expansion of the modern Olympic Movement.

Chapter four discusses the research methodology and techniques of analysis that have been used in the study. For this research a critical realist ontology and epistemology have been adopted. Central to critical realism is that although there are unobservable social structures, they can nevertheless be said to be real because they make a difference to observable human behaviour (Layder 1997). Therefore, although the social structures of the Olympic Movement are real, there are recursive relationships that can be invisible and unobservable. Given the fact that the empirical data used in the study are drawn largely from documentary sources, the method that is adopted, ethnographic content analysis, seeks to understand what the significant underlying relationships or processes are between the social actors and their surrounding context. A protocol drawn from ethnographic content analysis was used applying inductive and deductive techniques to categorise and code the data. The ontological and epistemological positions, method, protocol and procedure of selection of the sample are thus discussed in this chapter four.

Chapter five presents a detailed analysis of the emergence and development of Olympism during the years of Baron Pierre de Coubertin. It specifically explores three major periods: the early influences of Coubertin and precursors of Olympism (1887-1894), the development of Olympism and the early years of the Olympic idea (1894-1918), and the expansion of the Olympic Movement (1918-1937). Several issues in connection with the first period are examined, including the social conditions in France and the need for an education-based social reform: the role of Catholicism; English education system; the influential role of Thomas Arnold; and the need for educational reform of the education system. In relation to the second period, the chapter illustrates the role of Hellenism and Anglo-Saxonism as appropriate sources of legitimacy for Olympism in 19th century Europe while Olympism is located and examined within modernity and the European era of imperialism. The examination of the third period helps to understand the geo-political, economic and socio-cultural complexities of the Olympic Movement, especially after the first World War. Many

alternative games, such as the Inter-Allied Military Games, the Regional Games (Far Eastern, Hindu, South American and African Games), the Worker's Olympiads and Women's Olympics challenged the power of the Olympic Movement and led to a reorientation of some of its values and scope. The paternalistic discourse of the development of the Olympic Movement in the post-World War I era and the need for democratisation and socialisation of Olympism as a response to the emerging resistance are also explored in this chapter.

Chapter six explores Olympism during the years of Carl Diem, illustrating how his values and ideas might have influenced the Olympic Movement. This chapter is divided into three sections: a) the Pre-Nazi Phase: The Early Years of Carl Diem's Involvement in the Olympic Movement (1912-1933), b) the Nazi Phase (1933-1944), and c) the Post-Nazi Phase: Olympic Internationalism? (1945-1961). The first section examines the early influences of Carl Diem and his close collaboration and friendship with Baron Pierre de Coubertin, as well as with the preparations for the 1912 Olympic Games in Berlin, which were cancelled when World War I began. The section examines the extent to which the ideology of the 'Volk', a nationalist German tradition, influenced Carl Diem, and it presents evidence of inconsistencies and controversies between Diem's nationalism and internationalism. The adoption of Hellenism and its effect on people's perceptions is construed within the context of the German interpretation of Hellenism. German Hellenistic interpretations are better understood with further examination of the German 'organic' ethno-nationalism.

The second section explores issues related to Diem's contribution to one of the most controversial Olympics, the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Diem's possible political expedience and German nationalist interests are presented and evaluated, while the politics around the establishment of the Berlin Olympic Institute and his unapologetic, nationalist defence of Germany's interests are also examined. The last section explores the period when the tense political atmosphere of the Cold War fuelled the tension between multiculturalism and western dominance within the Olympic Movement. In this last period the chapter also considers the establishment of the IOA and critically examines the tension between the national and international interests of Carl Diem.

Chapter seven explores issues and concerns about Olympism as they have emerged in the IOA. The themes are drawn from the categorising and coding of the selected speeches from a span of four decades (1961-1998). This chapter is divided into dealing with two sections, the Cold War years, and the post- Cold War period. The first section deals with changes related to issues such as the involvement of politics in the Olympic Movement, amateurism, the rise of commercialism and the shift to professionalism, women's participation, and doping. The second section deals with changes related to the increase of the power of the West after the fall of the Eastern Bloc, such as the transfer from socialist economies to liberal consumerism, and the impact on local sport cultures. The chapter also considers the flexibility of Olympism to respond to new ideas and social practices, especially in relation to the emergence of the new value of environmentalism.

Consequently, the thesis covers a total period of one hundred and eleven years (1887-1998). It starts with the emergence, development and expansion of Olympism during Coubertin's years. It continues with the struggle for survival through the period of the two World Wars and the start of the Cold War during Diem's years (overlapping partly with the last period of the Coubertin's analysis). And finally, it concludes with the escalation and the end of the Cold War which is followed by a new era for the global economic and political interests.

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a theoretical framework that will guide the analysis examining theoretical approaches within the social sciences that have emerged from different political, social and technological shifts in the world. Indeed, several theoretical concepts were developed providing different ways of interpreting the structures and processes of social organisation in the global arena. This chapter offers a review of three theoretical approaches for explaining global phenomena. These three theoretical strands have been chosen on the basis of helping the researcher to conceptualise global shifts and enable her to understand and evaluate any changes that occurred in the Olympic context too.

Initially, there is a review of modernisation theory which provides an explanation of the global process by which traditional societies achieve modernity. Insights from this theory will prove instructive in understanding whether Olympism is a modernist philosophy. The second theory is cultural imperialism which interprets the global processes investigating cross-cultural processes dominated by the West from an economic point of view. The theoretical approach of globalisation theories is also reviewed providing more insights in understanding the global phenomena from different, multi-causal perspectives. For each of these three sets of perspectives, their key tenets and adaptation in understanding global phenomena in the sports arena, their relative strengths and weaknesses and their contribution to the analysis of the present study are outlined.

2.2 Modernisation Theory

Modernisation is one of the 'Isations' of the world as Taylor (2000) has put it. The reason why he has used the suffix –isations is very important for the meaning of modernisation and other 'Isations' such as globalisation, Americanisation,

glocalisation. In the English language, a noun can be created by adding the suffix '-isation' in the end of a verb. However, the new noun has a double meaning. The noun could mean both the process described by the original verb and also the end-state of that process. Thus, the noun 'modernisation' has come from the verb 'to modernise' and it can mean both the state of being modern but also the process of something becoming modern. This is a 'language trap' as Taylor (2000) has described it (p. 51). Taylor's point is that, whether we are referring to an (unfinished) process or an end-state needs to be made clear that even if the process is incomplete, it nevertheless may play a central role in shaping societies.

In order to interpret the meaning of 'modernisation', it is also very important to know how the word 'modern' is being interpreted. King (1995) has illustrated how the word 'modern' could mean different things. In relation to this point King (1995) has made an important remark. 'Modern' is often defined in temporal and not spatial sense. What he wishes to emphasise is that its meaning should not be solely defined in relation to 'history' but to someone's very specific history. That means that 'modern' is always contextual and should always be defined in relation to other contexts, like contexts of space, of the place, location, society, country, nation-state, or life-space. This could easily be understood from the fact that what is modern for 'me' might not be modern for 'you' or 'others'. In addition, because 'modern' and 'modernity' has often been understood as 'of the present', they can be characterised as terms that do not have temporal or geographical foundations and for that reason a phrase like 'modern city' could be applied to both New York or Kabul. These terms ('modern', 'modernism', 'modernity' and 'modernism') have also been applied in order to describe tendencies and movements in the arts, literature and architecture, especially in the period between 1890 and 1940.

The term 'modern', however, has been largely connected with the West, possibly because of the linguistic orientation of the word that is English or later American English (King 1995). The 'West', as mentioned by King (1995) is not solely a spatial and geographical metaphor but also an economic, political, moral and philosophical one (p. 111). The 'modern city' does not refer to a city of 'present or recent times' anywhere in the world but rather only in western Europe or North America. Thus, Kings argues we should not only ask ourselves 'what is modern' but also whose definition of modern we are employing.

Modern society implies contemporary society plus the credentials that produced it which between them define the modern period (Taylor 1999). But, as King (1995) has put it modern world was anything but 'ageographical'. Part of this 'modern' world however were certain people and certain places and this is expressed in alternative 'geographical' descriptions of the process of modernisation as Europeanisation, or Americanisation or Westernisation (Taylor, 1999). The modern world-system was firstly created by the Europeans who spread all over the world as conquerors, settlers or retailers. Wherever they went, they tried to recreate the European conditions and create a new world adjusted to the European model of life. Therefore, by the twentieth century many non-European elites in Africa and Asia were Europeanised in the sense that they had been either educated in the universities of the metropolitan centre or in local universities which were following the educational model of the metropolitan universities. The effect of this Europeanisation, is that even after the decolonisation (after World War II) there has always been a strong link between the ex-colonies and the 'mother country' and this is now obvious from the existence of British Commonwealth and *L'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF).

However, Europeanisation was not the only 'geographical' process of modernisation. The twentieth century has been characterised as an era of Americanisation. That is the projection of US power in Europe, especially after World War II. Hence, Europeanisation of Africa took place during almost the same period as the Americanisation of Europe. The effect of Americanisation in Europe, and consequently throughout the world, will be described in a separate section. These various alternative geographical terms for processes of modernisation are important but they do not necessarily lead us to critical geo-historical understanding. That is because behind modernisation itself there are many perspectives that need further clarification.

Modernisation is used as a term to describe radical changes in all areas of social life and it could be described as a continuous process in which there are indefinite levels of modernity (Waters 2001). In that point, it would be useful to make clear the differences between the terms 'modernism', 'modernity' and 'modernisation'.

Modernism refers to the modernist movement and the new discipline of sociology that provided alternative critical views of the modern world at the turn of the nineteenth century. The movement attacked realism and suggested that all was not as it appeared in the modern world. The influence of the movement was evident in the arts, literature and architecture. *Modernity* could be used as an umbrella term (Taylor 1999), a cluster name that includes all the words created after adding suffixes to the word 'modern'. It is the condition of living in a modern society, giving emphasis to 'society' and as Taylor says "the meaning of modernity is not just societal in scope: it denotes a defining nature of a society" (p. 15). *Modernisation* is certainly a process and as King (1995) argues, whereas modernism and modernity are 'Euro-American' terms with a historical temporality which is spatially restricted, modernisation is 'largely American' and has been designed by social scientists in order to break out of the limits that the terms 'modernism' and 'modernity' have set.

The message of modernisation was that 'the modern' was open to all. From 1949 when President Truman issued his four-point- plan to promote growth in 'under-developed countries', there was an increasing interest in 'development'. In this context many theories of modernisation were developed in the 1960s largely by American social scientists (Taylor 2000). Modernisation was a major process that constituted a cluster of other processes – economic, political and cultural (Weiner, 1966). And all these processes were taking place as part of one aim, 'to catch up'. However, it is worth underlining that the 'language trap', mentioned above has created a confusion between 'modernisation of the third-world countries' and 'modernisation of the first world' (if the pejorative term 'first world' can be used). The end-state of a singular modernity did not fit well with the processes happening in the 'first world' (Taylor 2000). That means that different societies are undergoing different processes and the end-state of one might be part of the process of the other. This can be easily illustrated by Rostow's (1960) model of stages of economic growth. Rostow (1960) has conceived development as a succession of five stages, beginning with the 'traditional society'. The four other stages were separated in two different processes, a) 'the preconditions for take-off' and 'take off', (like Britain's industrialisation) and b) the 'drive to maturity' and 'age of high mass consumption' (like US economic development). Alongside the model of American Hegemony or the American Century as Hegemonic Cycle, Rostow (1960) has put together in a sequence two different modernities, Britain's industrial modernity and America's

consumer modernity. Having such a single scale implies that all countries would follow the same route from traditional to modern. However, this was not the case, as Taylor (2000) argues,

The 'modernisation' on offer to the rest of the world was totally dominated by the process of industrialisation. It was about constructing nineteenth-century industrial modernity, a social form superseded by the consumerism of American high hegemony. To the degree that modernisation theories were dictated by the necessity to industrialise, Third world countries were being sold an antique model of modernity. (p. 62)

Although claims about the end-state of modernisation were unfulfilled, this does not mean that modernisation processes did not take place. Many effects of modernisation can be found in the world especially in the Third World countries. Modernisation, as a process open to all, was popular among ordinary people in contrast with the concept of Americanisation that was perhaps only really embraced in the core of the world economy. Millions were tempted to change their lives and 'modernise'. The 'Baby Powder Milk Scandal', where powdered milk was given as an alternative to breast feeding no matter the high risks of death for the baby, is often mentioned as a typical example of the power of modernisation as an ideology adopted despite, rather than because of, material interests (Taylor 2000; Chetley 1979).

The power of modernisation has also been described analytically, focusing on the fact that the key process implied by modernisation is increasing structural differentiation (Waters 2001). Formally, structural differentiation refers to the process by which one unit of social structure is divided into two or more units which operate more efficiently in new historical conditions. The new units together constitute the whole of the old one unit. Modern societies are characterised by highly developed state systems that are autonomous but also operate to co-ordinate the society as a whole. This co-ordination both inside and outside government implies that modern societies are highly bureaucratised; an effect of modernisation. Modernisation is also reflected in the forms of social relationships and the values that establish these relationships. Many social relationships can be characterised by the term *universalism*. Individuals act according to values and norms that are 'universal' in their society (e.g. the universal value that all are equal in the eyes of the law). In modern societies, the scale of society is so great that it is almost impossible to be

able to judge a person in terms of their particular relationship to oneself. The particular characteristics of individuals tend to be replaced by standard, universal characteristics which social groups of modern societies adopt. Thus, what is common is that relationships are often created on the basis of non-personal, non-specific, impersonal standards that can largely applied to all people. That might result in an increasing development of stratification systems based on criteria like occupation and wealth rather than gender and ethnicity (Waters 2001). Another value shift is the process of *rationalisation*. As modern societies develop in complexity, social institutions will increasingly be constructed on 'rational' principles rather than on tradition, or custom. Questions of morality are to be resolved by rational arguments rather than by appeal to religious or traditional norms as values. Thus, questions of morality are no longer part of the sacred and are repositioned in the sphere of the secular.

The modernisation thesis has been applied to sport quite extensively. Some of the first references to modernisation of sports were made by Guttmann (1978) in his book '*From Ritual to Record*'. In that book there is an effort to identify the characteristics of modern sport. According to Guttmann the "distinguishing characteristics of modern sport, as contrasted with those of previous eras, are seven in number" (p.15):

- secularism,
- equality of opportunity to compete and in the conditions of competition,
- specialisation of roles,
- rationalisation,
- bureaucratic organisation,
- quantification,
- the quest for records.

Guttmann (1978), after analysing the above characteristics that are based on a Weberian analysis framework to support his case, checks whether these were also characteristics of sports in various ages (primitive sports, Greek sports, Roman sports, and medieval sports). As he concludes, some of these might have also been noticed in other ages but their co-existence and interrelation in the modern era makes them "the distinguishing characteristics of modern sport". He concludes,

One great advantage of the Weberian model is that it enables one to see in the microcosm (modern sports) the characteristics of the macrocosm (modern society) – secularism, equality, specialisation, rationalism, bureaucratic organisation and quantification. These six characteristics, plus the quest for records which appear even more strikingly in sports than in the rest of the social order, are independent, systematically related elements of the ideal type of a modern society. They derive from a fundamental Weberian notion of the difference between the ascribed status of traditional society and the achieved status of a modern one. (Guttmann 1978; pp. 80-81)

This book has raised many arguments about the characteristics of modern sport and what actually modern sport is and how this can be distinguished from traditional sport. Modern sports seem to have followed a more generic transformation. The modernisation perspective sees modern sports as fundamentally different from folk sports. Modern sports are more organised, structured and regulated and this is a result of the establishment of regional, national and international organisations whose role is to control and regulate sports. Sport progressively became more specialised, bureaucratised and its values were centred upon individual achievement. Processes like codification, organisation and legitimisation contributed to this institutionalisation of sport in society (Jarvie 1994).

Richard Gruneau's work also addresses the modernisation thesis applied to sports. Gruneau (1988) has argued that there are certain characteristics of modern sport, five in number, which show how the modernisation theory may be applied to sports. First and foremost, modern sport is a product of a gradual and progressive evolution. Secondly, minority groups are being given much greater opportunities and that shows that sport has become greatly democratised. Thirdly, it is evident that there is rationalisation of modern sport that has been a result of the development of urban industrial societies and existence of rationalisation in general. Fourthly, the social battles that took place in sport were part of the transitional stage that modern sport has undergone. Fifth, sport has often been regarded as sharing common characteristics with modern societies. Thus, sport has been considered as homogenous. This has reinforced a tendency to view the model of sport in parallel with the model for societies in transition.

Gruneau (1988) has criticised conventional theories of the modernisation of sport that conceive it as an 'abstract evolutionary process' rather than a system that is

relatively open-ended and characterised by controversies and battles. The author has suggested that a critical understanding of modern sport has been provided by early Marxists such as Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse, the founders of the Frankfurt school. Nonetheless, Gruneau does not sympathise with the work of Rigauer (1981), Vinnai (1973), and Brohm (1978), scholars who saw modern sport both as symbolic representation and physical embodiment of capitalism's demands for 'performance' in the service of profit, and the technocratic ideology of science. According to Gruneau, these scholars' work reflects an almost cynical adaptation of a non-dialectical view when discussing the modernity and its implications. Instead, Gruneau has suggested that what is needed is a theory that interrelates understandings of 'agency', 'structure' and 'social reproduction' into a broader theory of social development. In his view such a theory could be formulated combining modified versions of the theories of Bourdieu (1972; 1978; 1988), Foucault (1977; 1980), the English 'cultural studies' school of Marxism (Clarke, 1979; Hall, 1980, Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1990; Giddens, 1994) and Gramsci (1971). Gruneau believed that such a theory would enable the critique of a) the Euro-centrism and the class and gender biases of modern sport; and b) the ways in which the chances of sport to be liberated are diminished by market capitalism, consumerism, and evidence of inequality that is being reinforced by extensive promotion of wrong bodily ideals.

Wagner (1990) has made a reference to what he called 'international modernisation' (p. 400) as the key process taking place in sport whereas he argues that Americanisation is just a part of other wider processes (see also next section 2.3). Specifically, he deals with a range of sports, basketball, soccer and the martial arts and in his discussion, rejects a 'cultural dependency' position and concludes that the emulation of American sport does not imply a process of Americanisation "so much as it is international modernisation" (p.400). The author has said, "the larger international processes of development and modernisation...are fundamentally responsible for the change of the world sport" (p. 400). Wagner (1990) has put particular emphasis on the fact that people have the power to select what they will absorb or not regarding modern sports. Thus, he does not support the idea of imposing any kind of sport on a cultural context; it is more a kind of decision the different cultural groups make for themselves consciously.

He claims,

The long-term trend has to be, I think, towards greater homogenisation, and I don't think there is anything bad or imperialistic about this; rather, these sports trends ultimately must reflect the will of the people. (Wagner, 1990, p. 402)

Maguire (1999) does not sympathise with Wagner's position. Although he acknowledges that Americanisation is not the key process that takes place in the modern sports arena, he believes that Wagner "mistakenly assigns central status to what he terms international modernisation" (p. 27). Maguire has underlined that,

While he (i.e. Wagner) acknowledges important caveats, such as 'sport culture flowing in all directions', and a 'blending of many sport traditions', Wagner does appear to downplay the conflictual nature of these processes, to overemphasise the ability of people to pick and choose as they wish from global sport cultures, and to see such development as a sign of progress. (Maguire, 1999, pp. 27-28)

Maguire who has been a proponent of figuration theory (Maguire 1993; 1994; 1999) has identified some of the criticisms that have been levelled at the modernisation thesis. Such a critique was that while an ideology of democratic sport and leisure may exist, some have suggested that sport and leisure experiences were perhaps more "divisive than allowed for by the classical modernisation thesis" (Jarvie and Maguire 1994; p.77). Moreover, modernisation has been quite ethnocentric seeking for explanations about the Third World cultures through the eyes of the West. In 1970s it was blatant that modernisation was not directing Third World countries into automatic economic growth. What Jarvie and Maguire (1994) have emphasised is that many radical critics of modernisation argued that those processes of modernisation resulted in low growth and inequality. A theoretical framework which interprets globalisation and modernisation processes with regard to the increasing economic, political and cultural dominance of the West is examined next.

2.3 Cultural Imperialism Theory

The term 'cultural imperialism' does not have a particularly long history. It appears to have emerged alongside other terms of criticism in the 1960s and has dominated many intellectual debates in the international arena in the second half of the

twentieth century (Tomlinson 1991). The term has been problematic as it is too generic and this has led to different approaches and meanings (Matterlart 1979; in Tomlinson 1991: 2). Tomlinson (1991) argues that the concept of cultural imperialism is one "which must be assembled out of its discourse" (p. 3). In his view, the term consists of two words which are themselves very complex and problematic. There is no doubt that the word 'culture', which Williams (1983) indicates as "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (p. 87) entails complex meanings and processes. The term 'imperialism', in its broad and conventional meaning refers to the imposition of the power of one state over the territory of another. However, in the social sciences the attitudes towards imperialism are divided¹. The terms 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' are often used interchangeably (Abercombie 2000). Furthermore, Williams (1983) has argued that imperialism "like any word which refers to fundamental social and political conflicts, cannot be reduced, semantically, to a single proper meaning" (p. 160). The complexity of 'cultural imperialism' as a term has also been acknowledged by Barker (1989) who indicates that "there are hardly any precise definitions of 'cultural imperialism'. It seems to mean that the process of imperialist control is aided and abetted by importing supportive forms of culture" (cited in Tomlinson 1991: 3).

Herbert Schiller (1969) articulated the thesis of cultural imperialism in his book *Mass Communications and American Empire*. Schiller (1969) argues that the period since the Second World War has been characterised by the increasing dominance of the United States worldwide. The older colonial empires, the British, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, no longer existed and had been replaced by a new American empire. The power of this new empire is centred on two key factors: economic strength that derives from the US-based trans-national corporations and communications expertise which has enabled Americans to take the leading roles in broadcasting networks and communication systems. In Schiller's view (1969), the American system of broadcasting developed so much that it served as a model for the development of broadcasting systems around the world, especially in Third World Countries. According to his argument, which has been subjected to extensive criticism, this led to an 'electronic invasion' that threatened the originality of the

¹ See Schumpeter, J. A. (1951). *Imperialism and Social classes*, New York, Kelley.

traditional societies by imposing different systems of communication and TV programmes infused with western values and values of consumerism. Similarly, Tunstall (1977) has underlined that,

The cultural imperialism thesis claims that authentic, traditional and local culture in many parts of the world is being battered out of existence by the indiscriminate dumping of large quantities of slick commercial and media products, mainly from the United States. (p. 20)

Taylor (2000) has argued that the twentieth century, known as the 'American Century', is marked by three US military/political victories –World War I, World War II and the Cold War. During this period the USA has become a major military and political power. He goes on to emphasise that American hegemony has created an American-led consumer modernity in replacement of the Dutch-led mercantile modernity and British-led industrial modernity (Taylor 2000). In the context of contemporary globalisation and modernisation, new terms like 'Americanisation', 'McDonald-isation' and 'Coca-colonisation' made their appearance (Kroes 1999; Hay and Marsh 2000). These terms refer to the dominance of large US trans-national corporations that collaborate with western organisations imposing western values and ethics (Thompson 1995). Pells (1997) has focused on to the influence of American Hegemony and the extent in which Americanisation has influenced European societies. In his perspective, American culture has been imposed not only in European societies but world wide. Whitelegg (1999) in his review of Pells' work underscores that even if the American way of life, American business and cultural products were imported in Europe, that does not necessarily imply that the Europeans also shared the American political and cultural ideology. His main arguments are centred on Pell's failure to contribute to the debate on cultural imperialism providing explicit and particular examples of societies which were Americanised to the extreme extent of losing their identity and neglecting their political and cultural ideology. Most of Whitelegg's arguments against Pells' work could be interpreted as major criticisms of the cultural imperialism thesis.

Americanisation, as with all '-isations', could mean both the process of imitating America and the state of being like American society (Taylor 2000). Taylor (2000) emphasises that western European countries never became fully Americanised as many feared, notwithstanding the fact that powerful Americanisation processes took

place and US-based trans-national organisations did develop influence. However, the influence of American Hegemony has not absorbed the national and particular characteristics of European populations. Taylor (2000) argues, illustrating this point, “the fact that the French people buy their Big Macs on the *Champs-Élysées* does not make them any less French” (p. 60) and he also quotes the following, “Contemporary France is a different society because of changes associated with Americanisation...(but it) neither obliterated French independence nor smothered French identity” (Kuisel 1993; in Taylor 2000: 60).

Kroes (1999) underlines that America has assumed a centrality in this ‘American Century’ that might be called American economic, political, and cultural imperialism. Furthermore, these three different forms of imperialism overlap to a great extent. Their interlink is apparent in that America as the new political ‘hegemon’ in the western world could restructure markets and patterns of trade through the Marshall Plan, which ensured the access to the European markets for American products. Therefore, political imperialism could promote economic imperialism. Accessing the European markets for American commerce also meant maintaining access for American exporting of cultural programmes such as American TV programmes and Hollywood movies. Thus, economic imperialism interlinked with cultural imperialism. The promotion of American cultural products reinforced in turn political and economic imperialism (Kroes 1999).

Kuisel (2000) has provided some different dimensions in the debate on ‘Americanisation’. If the subject of Americanisation is seen as products and practices that have been closely identified with America, then it refers to the export of certain products, techniques, fashions, investments, and art forms, as well as people, institutions, and values that have been strongly linked with America. Consumer products like jeans or expressions of popular culture like jazz music were introduced abroad, everybody knew them as ‘American’. Nonetheless, all these American-oriented products became domesticated and may have lost their nationality. Thus, some might have even lost their connotations with their American origin. McDonald’s is one among several American companies that insists that its overseas branches are local. The Walt Disney company has opened a theme park in Paris claiming that “It’s not American, it’s Disney” (New York Times 1992; in Kuisel 2000: 512). What Kuisel (2000) wants to emphasise providing these examples is that the proper object of

historical investigation should be the particular, not the general, Disneyland Paris, not 'American culture'; Nike, not 'American style'; McDonald's not 'American food' (p. 512). He suggests that by examining the particular, the Americanisation process will be better scrutinised in its parts without falling into the mistake of inadequate generalisations.

Much research on the diffusion of modern sports has been developed within this broad cultural imperialist theory. The British origin of the modern sport has been a subject of many studies (Scoffler 1935; Mandell 1976; Guttmann 1978; Guttmann 1994). Guttmann (1994) has emphasised Great Britain's role in the development of modern sports¹ underscoring that it was more important than that of any other nation. Sir Charles Tennyson has claimed that the Victorian British taught the world to play (Tennyson 1959; Horton 2001). The reasons why Great Britain and then the United States have contributed to the evolution of modern sports appear to be complex and diverse in the literature. Guttmann (1994) has argued that "a nation that exercises political or economic power most often, although not always, exercises cultural power as well" (p. 173). Both British and Americans have become strong political and economic powers of the world (British hegemony – American hegemony). During the period of their empires, an apparent diffusion of modern sports has taken place. Some, making a reference to this global expansion of modern sports starting from Great Britain and the United States, have even written about the 'hegemony of western sports' (An 1992; Guttmann 1994). Sugden and Tomlinson (1998a; 1998b) have argued that the United Nations and UNESCO are trans-national organisations which are financially dependent on European, western and other developed (core) countries. Similarly FIFA receives most of its funds from Europe² (Sugden 1998a). They have also argued that, although on the one hand FIFA has served as a forum for Third World resistance, on the other hand it has undoubtedly aided neo-colonialist forms of economic and cultural exploitation (Sugden 1998b).

Arbena (1988), when analysing the diffusion of baseball throughout Latin America, argued that "imported sports had a partially imperialistic impact in that they helped

¹ See also section 2.2 of this thesis for the definition of modern sport.

² UEFA claims that 80% of the games take place in Europe, thus the latter makes the greatest financial contribution to FIFA (Sugden and Tomlinson 1998b)

to shape local elites and their values in ways at least initially beneficial to the Europeans" (p. 6). Latin America's overall weakness in economic, political and military sectors did not allow its population to develop indigenous sports. However, he goes on to admit that "sport need not be understood solely within this global 'dependency' framework" (p. 3). Furthermore, he underscores the point that the same European-oriented sports became in time "the agent of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism" (p. 6). Tesche and Rambo (2001) have examined the local adaptation of the German Turnen Movement in southern Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century until the Second World War¹. They illustrate that the German-oriented practices of Turnen were introduced in clubs, schools and church. They believe that "in other words, Turnen provides a fascinating illustration of the longevity of European influence in one part of Latin America" (p. 20).

Stoddart (1988) has highlighted the dependent relationships of the Caribbean with the imperial motherland. The British, who never constituted a significantly large population in the islands, brought cricket to the Caribbean for their own entertainment (Guttman 1994). Stoddart (1988) argues that "the colonial elites established a cultural primacy through cricket as much as through economic power and political position" (p. 3). This was reinforced with the maintenance of strong relationships between the colonial elites and the imperial 'metropolis'.

Concentrating on baseball in the Dominican Republic, Klein (1989) underlined the role of American league baseball organisations in the underdevelopment of baseball in Dominican Republic. The establishment of American baseball academies by major league organisations worked "to increase the direct influence of the US teams while eroding the autonomy of Dominican baseball" (Klein 1989): p. 104). From 1916 to 1924, the United States carried out periodic military occupations of the Dominican Republic. James Sullivan, the American ambassador at the time expressed the view that baseball might pacify the natives. "The importance of this new interest to the young men in a little country like the Dominican Republic should not be minimized. It

¹ See Guttman, A. (1994). *Games and Empires. Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, New York, Columbia University Press.

satisfies a craving in the nature of the people for exciting conflict, and [it] is a real substitute for the contest in the hill-sides with rifles" (Klein 1991: 110).

In the setting of developed countries Kidd (1981) has studied the influence of the United States in the sport context of Canada. Kidd (1981) has argued that the US domination of cultural sport has jeopardised in times the Canadian national identity, which has long been debated because of the internal issues between the English-speaking and French-speaking populations (Kidd 1992). He observes that "the Canadian unity celebrated by the Triumph of Team Canada in international ice-hockey helps reinforce the hegemony of English-speaking, central Canadian patriarchy, and the legitimacy of high performance as the ultimate measure of cultural validity in sport" (p. 153). Maguire (1994) has observed that Canadians are deeply concerned with the increasing number of American and European players in the National Hockey League and the decreasing minority of Canadian players in the Canadian Football League. Similarly, Jarvie (1991) has investigated the cultural and political dimensions of establishing the Highland Games in Scotland. He underscores that "social structures and patterns of social development are greatly influenced by relations of power and dependency that occur between a metropole and a hinterland...[which] lend themselves to an explanation of Highland development" (p. 13). The Highland Games have served Scottish political and cultural interests as a resistance to the dependency on the British state.

The diffusion of modern sport in Asian countries has also attracted much attention in literature. Guttmann and Thompson (2001) have studied the arrival and spread of modern sport in Japan. When Westerners arrived in late nineteenth century Japan, they found a rich culture consisting of many sports (from archery to sumo). In Guttmann's and Thompson's views the diffusion of western sports like athletics and baseball took place on two levels. There was direct transfer from British and American educators to their students but also from French and German army officers to the men whom they trained. In Korea, western sport was introduced during the period 1876 to 1945 (Mangan 2001). However, this happened only after an involved political process and dramatic political circumstances in South-East Asia. Mangan and Nam-gil (2001) have examined the development of sport in Korea from an ideological perspective. They have underlined that, "the dominant ideologies of the period, Confucianism, Imperialism and Nationalism, greatly influenced not only Korean

culture of this time, but also the development of sport within it" (p. 50). Japanese imperialism stimulated national resistance. The clash of the forces of imperialism and nationalism influenced modern sport transforming it into a powerful political weapon. Thus, in these political processes and conflicting ideologies there was a relatively fast process by which occidental sport was spread throughout Korea. Modern sport was accepted at a period of time in which the western began to be accepted as part of the general trend of Occidentalisation- the importation and imitation of European and American things (Mangan 2001).

The diffusion of modern sport in Singapore is also complex. Horton (2001) has pointed out that the dominant influence and cultural process in the establishment and maintenance of modern sport in Singapore was that of British Imperialism. Yet, although the British had a major impact on the development of sport, there was another form of cultural imperialism at work from the Chinese. Their influence was such that ethnic Chinese now dominate not only in population, but in terms of power. Their influence is apparent in industry, government, education, law and culture. Other social groups such as the Eurasians, the Malays and the Indians all contributed to sport in Singapore. Horton (2001) emphasises that the diffusion of modern sport in Singapore constitutes a complex process of multiple factors such as ethnic groups, global trends and the island's climate and geography. Thus, he underscores the point that cultural imperialism in some societies entails complex influences that should not be defined or rationalised in a simplistic manner.

Kuklick (2000) opposes the theory of cultural imperialism and those who have utilised it. He argues that "historians and cultural interpreters who absorbed the rhetoric of cultural imperialism expanded on their own limited moral biases and put them into service as categories of explanation without an inkling that the imposition of these biases would tell us more about them than about international politics" (p. 506). In the post-1980 period academics have tended to replace their dependence on cultural imperialism with a more complex idea of cross-cultural fertilisation. This term describes the process whereby cultural products are exported and altered by the importing culture. Nonetheless, Kuklick (2000) argues that this is little different from the idea of modernisation. His point is that what is happening is not the imposition of American ideas on other societies, but the globalisation of economic, commercial and technological practices, that are not always generated from the

United States. 'American cultural transfer abroad' is interpreted from 'modernisation' and 'globalisation' perspectives which connote vast forces and suggest that cultures are entangled in a fluid system of global interactions. Cultural imperialism explains these processes on an ideological basis, strongly influenced from the politics of the left in the 1960s. Kuklick (2000) concludes that philosophical anthropology, defined as the "field that examines trans-cultural dimensions of the collective human psyche" (p. 508) might provide a better vehicle of understanding than that of cultural imperialism.

Schiller's view (1969; cited in Thompson 1995: 164-173) of cultural imperialism on interpreting the dominance of the USA in mass media and communications has been subjected to a great deal of criticism. Thompson (1995) identifies three major problems in Schiller's cultural imperialist interpretations. First, the United States appeared to be the military-industrial power of the world in the post-World War II period. However, competing ideologies in the Cold War era as well as the multi-polarisation of the global economy subsequently changed that. Second, cultural imperialism tends to assume the recipient cultures had indigenous, authentic cultural heritages. But, Thompson (1995) believes that the values and beliefs of a culture are resulting from a complex process of selection, adoption and alteration of values importing from exogenous powers into the indigenous populations. Similarly, Thompson's (1995) third argument against Schiller's (1969) cultural imperialist interpretations is centred upon the simplification of what is involved in the reception and appropriation of a cultural product. Thompson (1995) concludes that the cultural imperialist thesis is unsatisfactory because it is "outdated, empirically doubtful...based on a conception of cultural phenomena which is fundamentally flawed" (p. 172). Thus, in his perspective an alternative framework, which will explain the global communication systems taking into account the hermeneutical character of the reception process, is necessary. Kroes (2000), in an effort to emphasise the freedom of the recipient to adopt imported cultural products, underscores, "Americanisation should be seen as the story of an American cultural language travelling and of other people acquiring that language. What they actually said with it is a different story altogether" (p. 477).

Kuisel (2000) is also not convinced about the value of cultural imperialism. In his view cultural imperialism misinterprets Americanisation in several ways arguing that

"It emphasises imposition and coercion; assumes audience passivity; postulates cultural coherence for both exporters and importers; and anticipates global homogeneity as the outcome" (p. 509). Kuisel (2000) sympathises with Tomlinson (1991) about the complexity of the term 'imperialism'. He goes on saying that the component 'imperialism' of the term 'cultural imperialism' carries a determinist meaning that contrasts with what has really happened in the global arena. The recipients of an importing culture select, adapt and transform what has been sent to them. Thus, the transmission is a two-way process and not a deterministic one. Nevertheless, Kuisel (2000) supports the idea of 'Americanisation' describing it as an 'operative concept' (p.509). He acknowledges several conceptual problems of the term such as the difficulty to distinguish what constitutes Americanisation from similar developments like modernisation and globalisation as well as the complexity of interpreting American transmission. Nonetheless, he accepts its effectiveness to identify the spread of consumerism and mass culture via America as part of a broader global interconnectedness. Americanisation should be treated separately from globalisation and stands in its own right because it is more limited in content than globalisation and because it has a different historical trail (Kuisel 2000).

Cultural imperialism theory also has some strengths. It takes into account the great deal of influence exercised during colonisation and addresses the issues of cultural dominance. Unlike modernisation theory, cultural imperialism theory examines in depth the impact of colonialism in the development of non- western countries (Guttman 1994). Guttman (1994) doubts the appropriateness of cultural imperialism for explaining the diffusion of sports globally. Although cultural imperialism is a strong and coherent theory for explaining global trends in the sports arena, 'cultural hegemony' in Gramscian terms appears to him a more challenging term. As he argues,

'Cultural imperialism' is not, when all is said and done, the most accurate term to characterise what happens during the process of lucid diffusion. 'Cultural hegemony' comes closer...I concede that the concept of cultural hegemony provides more than a merely cosmetic improvement over the concept of cultural imperialism because Gramscian theory correctly stresses the fact that the cultural interaction is something more complex than the domination by the totally powerful of the entirely powerless. (p.178)

Nevertheless, factors such as population surplus, inadequate nutritional resources, low economic growth, lack of jobs, and low educational levels have weakened these

societies and impeded the development of sport (Heinemann 1993). Their political and economic growth is dependent on the global system. Thus, the ability of a local culture to adopt a global imported product might also be dependent on the global system (Houlihan 1995).

Donnelly (1996) has sympathised with Guttmann in that 'cultural imperialism' is not the most suitable term to describe the processes that have taken place in the diffusion of modern sports. The transition of cultural products is a two-way process and the recipients have interpretative and resistant powers. Nevertheless, the rise of multi-national American-based companies such as Nike and the International Management Group (IMG) as major actors in the international sports arena, as well as the importance of American television in the international sports media, are for some commentators enough to demonstrate an Americanisation process. Moreover, Donnelly (1996) has emphasised that with the development of multinational corporations and the freedom of the capital, it has become difficult to identify the national origin of many corporations. But, undoubtedly, an American style of sport has become a point of reference for corporate sport. The 'spectacular', giving to the audience 'high scoring' and 'superstar athletes' are some of its components. He has described this type of global sport monoculture as 'prolympism' because it originates from the fusion of professional sport and corporatised Olympic sport. 'Americanisation', in Donnelly's views, is the best term to describe these processes in a particular time, but only accepts if it is defined in cultural hegemonic terms.

Maguire (1994) also acknowledges that the growth of American football in Britain was a clear evidence of Americanisation. American football was hardly known in Great Britain before 1982, when Channel 4 television introduced seventy-five minutes a week of NFL football (Guttmann 1994). This was the power of the media-sport production complex. Maguire's (1994) figurational (Eliasian) approach does not accept the interpretations of cultural imperialism; it rather puts emphasis on the complexity of Americanisation as a process (similarly with Japanisation, Hispanicisation, Europeanisation). The figurational approach comes closer to the cultural hegemony interpretations as it examines more the 'sportisation' process, rather than the cultural diffusion of sports.

'Cultural hegemony' could also be a more appropriate term to describe Mangan's views (Mangan 2001). He has argued that the sports of Europe and the United States became the 'property' of enthusiastic nations, who "having hitched themselves to the globalisation wagon, cherished and polished them, on occasion made better use of them and certainly made them their own" (p. 2). As a result of this, some traditional sports disappeared whereas some survived. Along these lines Guttmann (1994) has provided the example of sumo as an authentically Japanese sport that not only did not disappear but developed and strengthened. Houlihan (1995) has underscored the point that Americanisation has been discussed by those scholars who argue that there are dominant contradictory cultural flows such as Japanisation and Europeanisation. Nonetheless, although these flows take place within the globalisation context, they are not determined by the global system. Furthermore, the US-based trans-national companies, which have strong economic and political power, do not respond to a domestic American logic but to a global one.

2.4 Globalisation Theories

Globalisation has become one of the most used words within academic, political and business circles in the 1990s. In the name of it, many different and often extrapolated claims have been made. The aim of this section is to understand the complexity of globalisation identifying its dynamic processes and mechanisms in different discourses. First, there will be a brief historical review of the term and an overview of the concept of globalisation. Then, there will be an attempt to review some of the theoretical debates about globalisation dividing them into two groups: those which stress a single causal logic, and those which give primacy to a multi-causal logic. The impact of globalisation on culture will be reviewed next as it is important to understand how the diffusion of cultural products and the new mapping of inter-cultural relationships have influenced the value-systems across the globe. This will also help us to understand how Olympic values have been influenced by the new cultural arrangements in the global arena. Similarly, discussions of globalisation in the sports context will be reviewed in order to understand how sporting competitions, sporting organisations and participation in sports were influenced. Finally, there will be a critical evaluation of globalisation theories that will highlight

how some of the theoretical approaches of globalisation can contribute to the current study.

2.4.1 The Concept of Globalisation

Although the word 'global' has existed for over 400 years the mass usage of such words as 'globalisation', 'globalise' and 'globalising' did not start until the early 1960s. Waters (1995) reveals that the *Economist* (4/4/59) reported that "Italy's 'globalised quota for imports of cars has increased"; and in 1961 *Webster* became the first major dictionary to include definitions of globalism and globalisation. Furthermore, the *Spectator* (5/10/62) recognised that: "Globalisation is indeed, a staggering concept" (Waters 1995: 2). Robertson (1992) suggests that the concept was not recognised as significant in academic circles until the early or possibly the mid-1980s. But since then the number of publications on globalisation has been enormous. During the 1980s, the concept of globalisation fascinated many intellectuals who were keen to understand the nature of the socio-economic changes which appeared to be influencing all capitalist societies (McGrew 1992). The term came to mean "the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states which make up the modern world system" (McGrew 1992: 65). It has been suggested that globalisation may be the concept of the 1990s, "a key idea by which we understand the transition of human society into the third millennium" (Waters 1995: 1).

However, it has also been criticised as "largely a myth (p. 2)...a myth suitable for a world without illusions" (p. 6) (Hirst and Thompson 1996). Busch (2000) underlines that the definitions of globalisation can range from "the narrowly economic to the truly, well, global" (p. 21) and therefore the concept of globalisation can mean "a lot of different things to a lot of different people and has, small wonder, also met fierce criticism" (p. 22). Strange (1995) has called it,

...a term used by a lot of woolly thinkers who lump together all sorts of superficially converging trends in popular tastes for food and drink, clothes, music, sports and entertainment with underlying changes in the provision of financial services and the directions of scientific research, and call it globalisation without trying to distinguish what is important from what is trivial, either in causes or in consequences. (p. 293)

However, Taylor (2000) emphasises that it is important to denote globalisation as either a 'necessary myth' (Hirst and Thompson: 2) or 'ideology' (Cox 1996). Taylor (2000) treats globalisation as an important on-going debate about the nature of contemporary social change and he finds it reasonable to see "globalisation as the corollary of modernity" (Pieterse 1995). Waters (1995) argues that some measure of globalisation has always occurred but it was non-linear in its development until the middle of this millennium. The spread of religious ideas and trading exchanges across the oceans were part of it. The European middle ages focused more on locality slowing down any globalisation forces. Waters (1995) underlines that the linear development of contemporary globalisation began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the 'early modern' period because until then – before the Copernican revolution – the inhabitants of Eurasia-Africa, the Americas, and Australia ignored each other's existence. Therefore, Waters (1995), like Robertson (1990), posits that globalisation precedes modernisation, and although they are highly associated, they are underpinned by different historical processes.

Giddens' s (1990) position differs from those of Waters (1995) and Robertson (1990). Giddens (1990) considers globalisation to be one of the most salient consequences of modernity, and this is because to him globalisation implies a re-arranging of the time and space in social life. Giddens (1990) terms this 'time-space distanciation'. In Giddens' perspective, the new order in social relations, which involves the erosion of the local borders and 'local contexts of interaction' to their reintegration across time and space, is highly connected to modernity. Giddens underlines how the development of global networks systems and global systems of production can influence the decision-making mechanisms and everyday lives of people in local societies. McGrew (1992) underscores the point that the jobs of Scottish miners are more contingent upon the production management of Australian and South African coal companies in the global market than upon any immediate decisions made from their local head office.

Harvey (1989) also sees globalisation as part of a greater change in the way people experience time and space. Harvey (1989: 240) uses the term 'time-space compression' in order to emphasise that time and space have condensed as a result of the pressures deriving from major technological and economic changes. Harvey (1989) mostly focuses on the accelerating forces of time-space compression. For

Harvey (1989) globalisation is a process that has involved eruptions of intense time-space compression. These bursts were a result of economic and social accelerating forces that were rearranging capitalism. The intensification of globalisation in the late 1970s and early 1980s is closely associated with a major crisis of capitalist accretion. Therefore, Harvey (1989) believes that phases of time-space compression influence political-economic practices, the level of class power as well as cultural and social life.

In McGrew's (1992) view, even though the accounts of Giddens and Harvey on theorising globalisation are different they share a common emphasis on the centrality of time and space for understanding social changes. Globalisation "defines a process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe" (McGrew 1992: 65-66). McGrew (1992), taking these two theoretical approaches of the concept of globalisation, suggests that globalisation should then be understood as having two dimensions: scope or 'stretching' and intensity or 'deepening' (p. 68). The former implies that the concept has a spatial connotation which is extended to a universal process or set of processes that underpin the interconnections and inter-relations between the states and societies. The latter implies that globalisation implies also intensification and deepening of those relationships. Thus, globalisation is conceived both horizontally in terms of space and expansion as well as vertically in terms of complexities and intense economic, social, political, and cultural phases of particular societies.

The literature on globalisation is characterised by its "sheer scope and diversity" (Hay and Marsh 2000). It has been viewed and analysed differently in many distinct disciplinary discourses. But all these approaches are closely interrelated. Therefore, economists are concerned with the global free market characterised by financial liberalisation and the potential influence of this on the mobility of capital. In connection with this, political economists debate the extent to which such economic processes weaken the authority of the state and the emergence of a new tendency towards a rigid process of (neo-liberal) convergence. Similarly, political scientists and scholars of international relations debate whether these processes mean the end of the nation-state and the beginning of a world government wherein a new political system, the 'world political system' will rule the world (and not inter-state)

relationships. In parallel, sociologists debate about how political struggles have changed the social patterns and the extent to which such processes have homogenised the different world societies. Finally, the cultural theorists and anthropologists are deeply concerned with a global culture which is an amalgam of post-nationalism, post-colonialism, postmodernism and cosmopolitanism (Hay and Marsh 2000).

All these literatures share a common emphasis on the complex processes and essential flows within globalisation. Appadurai (1996) has identified five inter-related landscapes or '-scapes' that show the various directions to such global flows: 'ethnoscapes' – the transporting and constantly moving landscape of immigrants, refugees, tourists and commuters; 'technoscapes' – the fast changing landscape of technology and information across the globe; 'finanscapes' – a global system of financial exchanges, monetary shifts and economic innovations; 'mediascapes' – travelling images around the world; and 'ideoscapes' – the political and strategic diffusion of values by states and oppositional movements (Appadurai 1996; cited in Hay and Marsh 2000: 2).

Hannerz (1990) also identifies four distinct cultural flows. The first flow refers to cultural commodities, which move within a market framework; the second cultural flow concerns the state and its actions toward the shaping of a national identity, as distinct from that of other nations; the third cultural flow concerns the development of cultural individuality and autonomy as a result of 'habitual perspectives and dispositions' developed as a part of everyday life (Hannerz 1990: 114); and the fourth cultural flow refers to a series of 'movements', such as environmentalism and the peace movement, which periodically emerge and have an impact on popular imagination. Such flows of labour, technology, capital, values and cultural products show the fluidity of the contemporary world as seen through globalisation, and will be instructive in understanding the expression of values associated with Olympism in late or high modernity (see section 8.3.3). In the section that follows theoretical approaches driven from different or combined flows will be reviewed.

2.4.2 Globalisation Debates

Held (1992) has noted that debates on modernity can be divided into two groups; those which emphasise a single causal logic, and those which stress a multi-causal logic. McGrew (1992) indicates that, similarly, in the globalisation debates, some scholars focus on a single-causal element, such as technology or the economy, whereas others are concerned with multi-causal dynamics. But, it is important to say that such categorisation helps structuring the massive theorisations of globalisation, and “no single account fits snugly within either category” (McGrew 1992: 69).

Single Causal Logic

Three key scholars that have based their theoretical approaches on one particular causal logic are Wallerstein, Rosenau and Gilpin (McGrew 1992). Wallerstein (1974) introduced the concept of the world-system into the social sciences and has highlighted the importance of capitalism in the globalisation processes. Rosenau (1980) focuses on the technological progress, whereas Gilpin (1987) views globalisation processes as part of political and military dynamics. Thus, globalisation has been approached and interpreted in at least three different discourses: the economic, the technological, and the political – military.

Wallerstein (1974) developed a theory about the origins and development of capitalism as a global economic system (Waters 1995). The theory of the so-called world-system argues that: i) the economic globalisation of modern capitalism is on a global and not on a national basis: from its origins in sixteenth-century Europe it has been expanded on a global level; ii) the world-system consists of the economically and politically dominant core regions, and peripheries which are economically dependent on the core; iii) core regions are developed as industrial systems of production, whilst the peripheries provide raw materials, and this results in a close dependency on the fixing of prices in the core; iv) there are also semi-peripheries who share their social and economic characteristics with both the core and the periphery; v) this world economic order started in Europe with the slow evolution of capitalist agriculture in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Abercombe, Hill *et al* (2000) emphasise that Wallerstein has made the important remark that “pre-modern empires had a common political-bureaucratic structure and diverse economic systems, whereas the modern world has diverse political systems but a common interlocking economic organisation” (p. 398). World-systems theory has been criticised on issues such as whether the peripheral societies are necessarily underdeveloped by core regions, how socialist societies fit into the world system, how external forces of the world economy are more significant for social change than internal forces, why world-system neglects cultural change focusing solely on economic processes of capitalism (Abercombe, Hill *et al* 2000).

While Wallerstein focuses on the centrality of capitalism as a globalising force, Rosenau gives primacy to technology and its components (McGrew 1992). Rosenau's early work (1980) concentrates on what he calls 'trans-nationalisation' (cited in Waters 1995: 29). This process implies that inter-governmental relations at an international level are complemented with relations between non-governmental individuals and groups. His position can be labelled as 'technological determinism' and this is apparent from the following extract:

Dynamic change initiated by technological innovation which is sustained by continuing advances in communications and transportation, has brought new associations and organisations into the political arena, and the efforts of these new entities to obtain external resources or otherwise interact with counterparts abroad have extended the range and intensified the dynamics of world affairs. (Rosenau 1980: 1-2; cited in Waters 1995: 29)

His theoretical approach was characterised by a dualism in regard to his position on the power and future of the nation-state. Although Rosenau (1980) stressed that the new era of trans-national relations which involves complex relationships between governments and non-governmental international organisations leads to a transformation or even a breakdown of the nation-state, he was still putting emphasis on nation-states as the central actors. In Rosenau's more recent work (Rosenau 1990) he proposes the term 'post-international politics' (1990: 6; cited in Waters 1995: 31) referring to a new era of politics in which unpredictable turbulence and chaos are the main characteristics and the state is no longer the central unit of global affairs. McGrew (1992) emphasises that although Rosenau's thesis is a new approach on globalisation, its core largely derives from nineteenth-century sociology,

which regards industrialism as an influencing force for changes in the global socio-economic and political phenomena.

By contrast, a rather more conventional approach that does not doubt the saliency of the state is made by Gilpin (1987). Unlike Rosenau and Wallerstein, Gilpin (1987) argues that the globalisation processes are a product of political orders (cited in McGrew (1992: 71). In particular the global states system is based on a 'permissive' global order, 'a political order which generates the stability and security necessary to sustain and foster expanding linkages between nation-states' (McGrew 1992: 71). Waters (1995) argues that Gilpin (1987) is deeply influenced by Marx and Wallerstein, linking globalisation to the development of capitalism. Nonetheless, Gilpin (1987) sees the capitalist market, and its globalising capacities, as contingent upon conditions of geopolitical stability. His position is that "the existence of a hegemonic or dominant liberal power is a necessary (albeit not a sufficient) condition for the full development of a world market economy" (1987: 85; cited in Waters 1995: 32). Therefore, "the expansion and success of the market in integrating modern [global] economic life could not have occurred without the favourable environment provided by liberal hegemonic power" (Gilpin 1987a: 85; cited in McGrew 1992: 71). McGrew (1992) underlines that the key point for Gilpin and those who share his analysis, is that the existence of a stable and secure world order credited and protected by the power and military dominance of a hegemonic (liberal) state regulates the globalisation processes. In Waters' view (1995) Gilpin's thesis is full of contradictions and referring to one of the paradoxes, he mentions that although Gilpin (1987) calls for "pluralist intervention to restore economic liberalism, that is for the triangle of dominating states to co-ordinate their policies in the direction of freedom of the market...Under the theory of hegemonic stability such a strategy cannot succeed" (p. 33).

Wallerstein, Rosenau and Gilpin have approached globalisation from different angles. However, all three authors have located the causal logic of globalisation in a single institutional doctrine: the economic, technological and political-military respectively. Turning now to a different way of approaching the globalisation processes which focuses on a multi-causal logic, we cite Giddens and Robertson as two of the key authors adopting such an approach.

Multi-causal Logic

By contrast with those scholars who give primacy to a single globalising dynamic, Giddens (1990) indicates four interlocking dimensions of globalisation: capitalism; the inter-state system; militarism; and industrialism. Globalisation is therefore understood as something "...more than a diffusion of western institutions across the world, in which other cultures are crushed' but rather is a very complex process which involves a number of intersecting forces" (Giddens, 1987: 288; cited in McGrew 1992: 72). Each of these dimensions insulates a globalising imperative. Thus, the development of capitalism influences the global economic process, whilst with reference to the global inter-connectedness, "it is the universalism of the nation-state form that results in the creation of a single world" (Giddens 1990: 283; cited in McGrew 1992: 72). Similarly, "...the globalising of military power' (Giddens 1990: 75; cited in McGrew 1992: 72) and the constantly changing global division of labour (the logic of industrialism) condition globalising processes.

Giddens (1990) also acknowledges the importance of cultural globalisation referring to it as "a fundamental aspect of globalisation, which lies behind each of the various institutional dimensions that have been mentioned" (p. 77: cited in Waters 1995: 52). Nevertheless, Waters (1995) expresses the view that cultural globalisation has been Giddens' last thought receiving scant attention and if the globalisation of culture is such an important axis of the globalisation processes Giddens (1990) should have given more attention to it. Waters (1995) also believes that Giddens' multi-stranded theorising of globalisation is "full of contingency and uncertainty" (p. 52).

Although Robertson (1992) has developed an approach that differs in many points from Giddens' account, they both share the same view that the globalising dynamics are not a product of a single factor. Robertson (1990: 22) has expressed his disagreement with "...some [who] insist that the single world of our day can be accounted for in terms of one particular process or factor..." (cited in McGrew 1992: 73). Robertson (1992) insists that the process of globalisation is not new, that it precedes modernity and the rise of capitalism. He argues that "overall processes of globalisation (and de-globalisation) are at least as old as the rise of the so-called world religions two thousand and more years ago" (pp. 6-7; cited in Hay and Marsh

2000: 14). These processes embrace “the analytical separation of the factors which have facilitated the shifts towards a single world – e.g. the spread of capitalism, western imperialism and the development of a global media system – from the general and global agency-structure (and/or culture) theme” (Robertson 1990: 22; cited in McGrew 1992: 73).

Nonetheless, modernisation tends to accelerate globalisation and this is apparent in the contemporary world. Robertson (1992: 58-60; cited in Waters 1995: 43) maps the path of globalisation as a series of five phases: i) the germinal phase (Europe, 1400-1750), ii) the incipient phase (Europe, 1750-1875), iii) the take-off phase (1825-1925), iv) the struggle-for-hegemony phase (1925-69), and v) the uncertainty phase (1969-92). Robertson (1992) also borrows Parson’s notion of social system in order to understand the global inter-connectedness (Parsons and Smelser 1968). This argues that a complete system has structures or parts that operate to resolve four system problems: adaptation to the environment; goals- establishing practices for attaining goals; integrating exchanges between the parts of the system; latent provision for reproduction of the system over time. However, such an account leaves itself open to the classic criticisms of functionalism.

Under this classification of the literature on globalisation, the two main ‘schools’ of theorising are those which focus on a single causal logic and those which stress the multi-causal logic shaping the nature of contemporary globalisation. One of the dimensions of globalisation that is often examined in either of the ‘schools’ is cultural globalisation. The influential role of culture as the axial determinant of globalisation, or one of its dimensions, is discussed next.

2.4.3 Cultural Globalisation

As discussed above, ‘globalisation’ refers to those processes operating on a global scale, which cut across national boundaries, linking communities and organisations in new time-space relations, making the world an inter-connected community. Alongside the economic globalisation that is more advanced in the financial markets and the political globalisation that has proceeded to the extent of post-international relationships (Robertson 1992), there is also an aspect of cultural globalisation.

Waters (1995) argues that although culture has never been totally globalised, “it has nevertheless shown a greater tendency towards globalisation than either of the other two arenas” [economic and political] (p. 125). His argument derives from the area of religion that for many centuries the major universalising religions of the world, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Islam and Hinduism, had a “globalising sense of mission” (p.125) and they had stood above state and economy. However, the emergence of the liberal-democratic state and the development of the capitalist economic system was also underpinned with universalising values. During the twentieth century many conflicts took place between the various aspects of those value-systems. Nonetheless, the accelerated phase of globalisation does not refer to the sovereign domination of such value-systems. Rather it refers to their diffusion (Featherstone 1990).

Featherstone (1990) indicates that a globalised culture would be characterised by a constant flow of ideas, information, images, values and tastes that would be mediated through moving individuals and electronic means. Appadurai (1990), as discussed before, referred to these flows as ‘scapes’. Appadurai (1996) emphasised that the suffix –scape allows us to focus on the fluid and irregular shapes of these landscapes, as well as on their relative character as can be seen differently from different angles of vision. These flows, firstly, link different cultures together and make them relate themselves to others. This relatedness may take place in two different levels; either a reflexive self-examination in which fundamental principles are emphasised in the face of threatening new elements or the absorption and adjustment of other cultures. Second, these flows might prepare the ground for the development of genuinely trans-national cultures which are not related to a particular nation-state but are either novel or syncretic (Featherstone 1990). Lee (1994) argues that this mixture of optimism and scepticism regarding the impact of globalising forces in cultures suggests significant changes in the meaning of culture.

In Pieterse’s (1995) perspective there are two distinct concepts of culture. The first concept of culture (culture 1) regards culture as essentially territorial assuming that it is a product of a localised learning process. This refers to a culture of a social group or a society and it has anthropological implications. But, there is also a wider understanding of culture (culture 2) that views culture as a general human ‘software’ (Banuri 1990; cited in Pieterse 1995: 61). Culture 2 entails a trans-local learning

process and involves an 'outward-looking' sense of place, whereas culture 1 depicts an 'inward-looking' sense of place (p.62). These two cultures are not so separate since culture 2 finds expression in culture 1. The assumptions about these two concepts of culture as suggested by Pieterse (1995) are given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Assumptions about culture (Pieterse 1995)

<i>Assumptions about culture</i>	
<i>Territorial culture</i>	Trans-local culture
<i>Endogenous</i>	Exogenous
<i>Orthogenetic</i>	Heterogenetic
<i>Societies, nations, empires</i>	Diasporas, migrations
<i>Locales, regions</i>	Crossroads, borders
<i>Community-based</i>	Networks, brokers, strangers
<i>Organic, unitary</i>	Diffusion, heterogeneity
<i>Authenticity</i>	Translation
<i>Inward looking</i>	Outward looking
<i>Community linguistics</i>	Contact linguistics
<i>Race</i>	Half-caste, mixed-breed
<i>Ethnicity</i>	New ethnicity
<i>Identity</i>	Identification

It is generally agreed that, since the 1970s, both the scope and pace of globalisation have increased, accelerating the flows and linkages between the nations (Hall 1992). Hall mentions three possible consequences of globalisation on cultural identities. The first is that national identities are being eroded as a result of the cultural homogenisation and the 'global post-modern' (p. 300). The time-space compression described from Harvey (1989) and discussed before, as well as what Giddens (1990) calls the separation of place from space have created a new world that feels smaller and space can be "crossed in the twinkling of an eye – by jet, fax or satellite" (Hall 1992: 302). Cultural identities have been in the centre of these new time-space dimensions. Some theorists argue that the overall effect of these globalising processes has been to weaken or undermine national forms of cultural identity. Thompson (1992) has emphasised that cultural flows and global consumerism among nations create the possibilities of 'shared identities' since members of different cultures become 'customers' for the same goods, 'clients' for the same services, 'audiences' for the same images and messages. This situation is what might

have called 'the global post-modern' (Hall 1992: 302). The more social life becomes global post-modern, through the global marketing of styles, images, trends and media systems, the more identities become disembedded from their roots. This creates the phenomenon of cultural homogenisation.

Today, this 'cultural homogeneity version' of globalisation has often been called 'McDonaldisation', a term that implies that the popular consumer culture of the economically dominant West is inevitably transforming other regions, cultures, nations and societies. Asgary and Walle (2002) have identified four major contributing factors to homogenisation. First, it is the global transformation of local culture with the standardisation of global products and the globalisation of organisations such as Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Nike, MTV and Calvin Klein. Second, it is a consumer mentality that is a result of bombarded messages from the mass media. The global media can influence what movie, sport or other cultural product people will choose. Third, it is the elite culture because, in Asgary's and Walle's perspective, homogenisation and globalisation tend to be the realm of the elite. Today, western patterns of behaviour and the English language are "staples of international business" (p. 62). Finally, the Internet is also one of the homogenising factors. The internet as a means of communication profoundly accelerates the speed with which cultural diffusion can take place; this process can increase the level of cultural homogeneity shared by different people.

According to Hall (1992) the erosion of cultural identities as a result of the growth of cultural homogenisation and the global post-modern is one possible consequence of globalisation. Another is the strengthening of national and other 'local' or particularistic identities as a resistance to globalisation. Cultural homogenisation as an end-state of globalisation has been subjected to many criticisms for the simplification of the complex processes that might be involved. Axford (1996) emphasises that while new technology makes it possible to spread, for example Hollywood images all over the world, it also provides "immediate sensory reminders of home for strangers in a strange land" (p. 212). Discussion of cultural hegemony is usually connected with the idea of the nation-state. Ruuska (1999) argues that there is no nation powerful enough to homogenise all cultures of the globe.

Three major counter-tendencies will be discussed. The first is that there is a new interest in 'the local' together with the impact of 'the global'. Therefore, instead of articulating an argument about the global replacing the local, it is more suitable to think of a new 'global' and new 'local' identifications in the face of globalisation. The second point arises from what Doreen Massey (1991) calls 'power geometry'. According to this, different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways to global flows and interconnections. Some people are more in charge of the globalising processes, some initiate flows, some are just recipients and some are kind of trapped in the overall process. Thus, the ways in which people "are placed within 'time-space compression' are highly complicated and extremely varied" (Massey 1991; cited in McGrew 1992: 321).

The third point in the critique of cultural homogenisation is about who is most affected by it. It is apparent from the previous point that there is an uneven direction to the flow and an unequal distribution of cultural power between 'the West' and 'the Rest'. Thus, globalisation may appear to be a western phenomenon (Hall 1992). Robins (1991; cited in Hall 1992: 305) argues that in a process of unequal cultural encounter, 'foreign' populations have been compelled to be the subjects and subaltern of western empire, while, no less significantly, the West has come face to face with the 'alien' and 'exotic' culture of its 'Other'. Nevertheless, societies of the periphery have been open to western cultural influences. Hall (1992) underscores the point that,

The idea that these [societies of the periphery] are 'closed' places – ethnically pure, culturally traditional, undisturbed until yesterday by the ruptures of modernity – is a western fantasy about 'otherness': a 'colonial fantasy' maintained about the periphery by the West, which tends to like its natives 'pure' and its exotic places 'untouched'. (p. 305)

Therefore, globalisation might imply a western global domination but cultural identities across the globe have now been relativised due to the time-space compression. The unplanned migration of population from the ex-colonies to the colonising powers- after World War II- can illustrate the point that global interdependence now takes place in both dimensions. Usually the hegemony implied by globalisation is seen as 'western'. But, some theorists argue that even if some 'western' values do spread, it does not inevitably mean 'western hegemony' (Ruuska 1999; Albrow 1997). Part of this universality is also the declaration of human rights,

which makes it easy for other than 'western' cultures to claim their rights to be different, and gives no moral opportunity to dominant cultures to ignore, absorb or mistreat them. Ruuska's (1999) point is that "even if some western values are accepted globally, the result is not necessarily 'western hegemony' but quite the opposite" (p. 256). However, it should be noted that the universality of human rights, which are often seen as a western orientalist construction, has been problematic.

As suggested by Hall (1992), a possible consequence of globalisation on cultural identities is the 'strengthening' of those identities. This is the conceptualisation of polarisation, which is represented by cultural, regional or national distinctiveness that is jeopardised in the face of an alleged homogeneity (Asgary and Walle 2002). Globalisation can contribute to the rise of nationalism. A characteristic example is the resurgence of nationalism in Eastern Europe. The collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the dissection of the old Soviet Union have resulted in an outburst of ethnic nationalism. The vision to create new, culturally and ethnically unified nation-states was the force behind the disintegration movements of many former Soviet Republics and Yugoslavia. The other significant form of particularistic nationalism and ethnic and religious absolutism is 'fundamentalism' (Hall 1992). Globalisation sometimes contributes directly and indirectly to the world-wide development of fundamentalism (Waters 1995). The term 'fundamentalism' had its origins in the early twentieth century, when it was used to refer to specific Protestant groups who reacted against the 'liberal Christianity' of the era (Asgary and Walle 2002). The impact of globalisation on the development of fundamentalism is apparent in the 1970s with the fundamentalist revival in Islam. Islamic fundamentalisms appeared as a rejection of western modernisation. They call for 'Islamisation', the creation of a hierocratic Umma in which education centres on the holy book and Sharia law displaces secular law (Turner 1991; cited in Waters 1995: 132).

The rise of ethnic nationalisms and the creation of fundamentalisms as forms of resistance to western modernisation are attempts to rebuild purified identities and restore Tradition (Hall 1992). However, the destiny of cultural identity in the phase of globalisation is not simply a matter of either homogenisation or polarisation; of either the full loss of individual, national and regional identities or of the dynamic – and

often violent - attempts for a return to the fundamentals of a religion or an ideology (Asgary and Walle 2002). Hall (1992) argues that a possible third consequence of globalisation on cultural identity –next to cultural homogenisation and ‘strengthening’ of particularistic identities- is the creation of new identities of hybridity. The theory of hybridisation argues that globalisation has not created a world that is accurately depicted by either homogeneity or polarisation. There is another possibility: that of ‘Translation’ (Hall 1992). This refers to those identity formations which are composed of people who have left their homelands forever and have now created a new identity that it is a fusion of their particular backgrounds and the host culture. People who belong to such cultures of hybridity belong to a ‘translated’ culture (Hall 1992). Rudshie (1991; cited in Hall 1992: 310) notes that “the word ‘translation’ comes etymologically from the Latin for ‘bearing across’. Thus, people who belong to two worlds at once and are products of the post-colonial migrations-of the new diasporas- are ‘translated’ people”. Cultural forms are called hybrid/syncretic/mixed/creolised because the elements of the combination derive from different cultural contexts (Pieterse 1995).

Asgary and Walle (2002) have suggested that the dialectical method of Frederick Hegel provides a useful way of modelling this process of hybridisation. Using the thesis-antithesis-synthesis paradigm, Hegel referred to the initial phase of the process as the ‘thesis’. In terms of culture, this phase could be the state of a culture before being influenced by external factors. This thesis is then impacted by what Hegel calls the ‘antithesis’ and this can be interpreted as the cultural traditions that are introduced to the ‘thesis’. Ultimately, the thesis and antithesis interact and results in a ‘synthesis’, a fusion of the two. This synthesis, in turn, emerges as a new ‘thesis’ and the process becomes an ongoing cycle. Defining the initial ‘thesis’ could be problematic. It has been emphasised by Hall (1992) that there is no cultural society that is completely ‘closed’ and ‘pure’. Hannerz (1987) also defines that ‘creole cultures like creole languages are those which draw in some way on two or more historical sources, often originally very different. They have had some time to develop and integrate, and to become elaborate and persuasive’ (cited in Pieterse 1995: 62). Pieterse (1995), driven from this definition, wonders whether we can identify any culture that is not creole in the sense of combining one or more historical sources. Therefore, there is an uncertainty about whether a cultural form is

a 'thesis'. However, the adaptation of Hegel's model can be a useful tool for describing the hybridisation process.

Pieterse (1995) attempts to explore more the impact of globalisation by contrasting the vocabularies and connotations of globalisation-as-homogenisation and globalisation-as-hybridisation (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Globalisation as homogenisation and as diversification (Pieterse 1995: 62)

<i>Globalisation/homogenisation</i>	<i>Globalisation/diversification</i>
<i>Cultural imperialism</i>	Cultural planetarisation
<i>Cultural dependence</i>	Cultural interdependence
<i>Cultural hegemony</i>	Cultural interpenetration
<i>Autonomy</i>	Syncretism, synthesis, hybridity
<i>Modernisation</i>	Modernisations
<i>Westernisation</i>	Global mélange
<i>Cultural synchronisation</i>	Creolisation, crossover
<i>World civilisation</i>	Global ecumene

What is common to some elements in both sides of globalisation is the 'territorialisation' of culture. However, in the era of accelerated globalisation and cultural mixing, an overall tendency of 'de-territorialisation' is apparent. And this involves a transition from culture 1 (local sense of culture) to culture 2 (trans-local sense of culture) (Pieterse 1995). Hybridisation is a critical argument against perceiving globalisation either as homogenisation or modernisation and westernisation (Pieterse 1995; Asgary and Walle 2002).

Cultural globalisation is also examined in the sports context. Discussions on this form of globalisation as well on other dimensions of globalisation in the sports arena are discussed next.

2.4.4 Sport, Culture and Globalisation

The globalisation processes in sport have been understood in many different ways. Approaches derived from modernisation thesis, imperialist and Americanisation accounts, figurational/process sociology and globalisation perspectives can be found in literature. In this section, there will be an attempt to map out the dimensions of globalisation in sport as they have been captured so far in literature (including a review of the papers on globalisation presented in special issues of the *Sociology of Sport* journal).

Research comparing and contrasting globalising development in different societies has a fairly long history in academic debates. More recently, such research concerns have found expression in the study of sport (Maguire, Jarvie *et al.* 2002). Although the use of globalisation concepts is relatively new in the research studying sport processes, cross-cultural analyses have been attempted for some time. Johan Huizinga's 1949 work (cited in Maguire 1999: 26) is such an example of a cross-cultural account of the origins of modern sport. In many studies (Dunning and Sheard 1979; Gruneau 1988; Guttmann 1991) England is placed as the starting point for the diffusion of modern sport. Different perspectives have also been reported (Mandell 1984; Hargreaves 1994). Throughout these debates on modern sport, the different global cultural flows are mentioned and later on they come to be the main focus.

Wagner (1990) explains the global cultural flows in sport from the perspective of modernisation. Wagner (1990) observes that a number of trends take place in international sport. He underlines four major currents. First, a globalisation of sport occurs which leads to a spread of major sports across the globe. Second, international sport competitions such as the Olympics, the Goodwill Games, and the Commonwealth Games, have an increasing international appeal. Third, the development of mass media has resulted in an enormous impact on sport in remote regions of the world enhancing the interest in sports. And fourth, nation-states seem to acknowledge and use the importance of sport in internal and external political affairs. Wagner (1990) emphasises that "Americanisation is part of these trends but it is only one part of much broader processes; it is not by itself the key process" (p. 400). In Wagner's (1990) perspective the case is that the larger international

process of development and modernisation has resulted in the changes of modern sport worldwide. What he labels as responsible for such changes is an 'international modernisation' occurring in the world.

Maguire (1999) takes issue with some elements of Wagner's position. Although he also believes that Americanisation is not the key process, he finds Wagner's explanation (1990) simplistic in terms of how it overemphasises the ability of people to choose and adapt from global sport cultures, invariably characterising such developments as a sign of 'progress'. Maguire (1999) argues that Wagner's (1990) account "echo[es] many of the features, and weaknesses, of the modernisation perspective" (p. 28). In contrast, Guttmann (1991) (in his early writings at least) is a keen supporter of modernisation thesis. Guttmann (1991) has argued that Wagner was "correct to insist that we are witnessing a homogenisation world rather than an Americanisation", and that "the concept of modernisation is preferable because it also implies something about the nature of the global transformation" (Guttmann 1991: 187-88). Guttmann (1994), though, in his later work re-adjusts his initial positions on modernisation and adopts the concept of 'cultural hegemony' as a more appropriate term to describe the diffusion of modern sport.

Although supporters of a cultural imperialist and dependency theory approach would reject several, if not all of the points outlined by Wagner and the earlier Guttmann, these accounts do share a common assumption that homogenisation of world sport is taking place (Maguire 1999). As has been highlighted, several case studies focusing on the connection between the diffusion of sport and imperialism have been conducted (Mangan 1986; Stoddart 1989; Arbena 1989; Klein 1989). Within the broad cultural imperialist/dependency theory and cultural hegemony tradition the role of Americanisation in globalisation of sport has been examined. Kidd (1981), in his study of sport in Canada within a broader analysis of the development of Canadian national culture, observed that the commodification/Americanisation of Canadian sport has undermined the role of sport in the strengthening of national identity. Although Kidd (1981) emphasises that Americanisation processes were greatly involved, he argues that explanations of such processes in the Canadian sport lie "neither in U.S. expansion nor national betrayal, but in the dynamics of the capital" (p. 714).

Maguire (1990) found in the work of Kidd (1981) some thoughtful insights for understanding the development of American football in English society. However, Maguire's (1990) perspective was broader than a purely economic focus. Maguire (1990) argued that the development of American football in English society should be understood "in terms of interdependence" and that "Anglo-American interdependence is contoured and shaped by power differentials, but these differentials are by no means fixed" (p. 233). Maguire (1990) emphasises that this process of popularising American football in the English context was influenced by the actions and marketing strategies of three key players – Channel 4, Anheuser-Busch and the NFL. However, he argues that "this is not to favour a simple cultural imperialist or cultural dope thesis. No one group had a monopoly over the making of American football" (p. 234).

Although Maguire (1990) rejects the idea that cultural imperialism takes place in the case study of American football in Britain, Kidd (1991) believes that this is exactly the case in the Canadian context. Kidd (1991) agrees with Maguire (1990) that the term 'Americanisation' has limitations as it tends to simplify the complexity of the social determinations of Canadian sport. However, Kidd (1991) emphasises that "Americanisation exerts a heavy burden on Canadian sportspersons by greatly restricting their ability to fashion meanings and activities in their own experience" (p. 180). As for the role of the state, Kidd (1991) argues that "in recent years the state-supported sector has been weakened by the mix of increasing American continental hegemony and neo-conservative renovation" (p. 182).

Guttman (1991) believes that there is no doubt about the appropriateness of using the term 'Americanisation' in these two case studies examined by Maguire (1990) and Kidd (1991). However, Guttman (1991) emphasises that "there is an unfortunate tendency to think of all contemporary examples of instrumental rationality as if they were uniquely American" (p. 187). For example, Kidd (1991) argued that the acquisition of Canadian athletes from one city to play for another is part of Americanisation. However, Guttman (1991) argues that this phenomenon can be traced back a long way. Similarly, when Kidd (1991) refers to a "universal numeracy" as a characteristic of American influence in sport, Guttman (1991) counter-argues that quantification in sports began in the 17th century from England and reached its peak in the German Democratic Republic. Guttman (1991) also

underscores the point that terms such as 'mundialisation' – mentioned by Wagner (1990) - and globalisation cannot be used interchangeably with Americanisation. As Guttman (1991) notes "while such terms as mundialisation and globalisation are a welcome reminder that the social transformations of the present century are something more than a matter of unidirectional American influence, the concept of modernisation is preferable" (p.189). Later, as was noted above, Guttman (1994) argued that the concept of cultural hegemony was more appropriate to describe the processes occurring in the global diffusion of sport.

The position that the concept of cultural hegemony is more appropriate to express the meanings and complexities of globalisation in sport than that of cultural imperialism is also adopted by Donnelly (1996). He argued that there has been confusion in sports-context literature when using the terms globalisation, Americanisation and cultural imperialism. He believes that sport sociologists debated about Americanisation in sport before having understood and examined to a great extent globalisation processes. This resulted in a false dichotomy that was expressed in terms of Americanisation versus globalisation. But, the debate took place without a clear distinction of the different processes in Americanisation and without a deep understanding of globalisation. Donnelly (1996) makes a clear distinction between globalisation and Americanisation as cultural hegemony. As he emphasises,

Globalisation provides a sufficient description and explanation of the economic and environmental interdependency among the world's societies. To the extent that corporate sport (prolympism) is an economic entity, it may be said to be globalised. As a cultural entity, corporate sport is not globalised nor is Europeanised, Japanese, or Hispanicised; it is dearly Americanised (p. 243)

Donnelly (1996) views Americanisation as cultural hegemony avoiding an over-deterministic view of Americanisation. As he concludes, "cultural hegemony may be seen as a two-way but imbalanced process of cultural exchange, interpenetration and interpretation" (p. 243).

Harvey and Houle (1994) also support the idea that imperialism is very different from globalisation. Imperialism refers to economic or cultural domination of one country over another. Globalisation refers to "processes that alter substantially the very notion of nation-state; it refers to forces at play that are not based on the division of the world into national political spaces but rather emerges from integration across

national political spaces" (p. 352). In the globalisation of sport, at the economic level the sporting goods industry and multinational corporations contribute to globalisation processes. At the cultural level, there is not only a process of homogenisation; new social movements – feminism, anti-racism and local initiatives – contribute in the development of fragmented sport cultures (Harvey and Houle 1994).

In an assessment of the role that sport plays in global processes, Houlihan (1994a) argues that sport is not part of the 'core' of a person's and a nation's identity. In this perspective, the impact of sport could be seen as 'ephemeral'. He underscores the point that it is important to make a distinction between the globalisation of particular sports and the globalisation of the organisational processes that underpin modern sports. Therefore, he suggests that,

Conflicts over the playing of particular sports and who wins particular competitions are tensions confined to a more ephemeral and insubstantial layer (or flow) of a community's culture. In contrast, the transformation of informal village sports by the introduction of codified rules, formal patterns of competition, and governing bodies affects values at a much deeper societal level. (p. 367)

Maguire (1993), in order to understand the role of sport in the globalisation processes, adopts a figurational approach. National cultures and identities might weaken, strengthen or pluralise. Globalisation does not necessarily lead to homogenisation as more complex processes are involved. Maguire (1993) understands these processes relationally and developmentally by adopting the twin concept of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties. He underlines that,

The concepts of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, the idea of commingling of western and non-western cultures, the subsequent emergence of a new amalgam and the ongoing attempts by established groups to integrate outsider people ('s) as workers and/or consumers, all shed important light onto the debate regarding national cultures, identities and globalisation...The emergence and diffusion of sport is clearly interwoven with this overall process (p. 308).

Maguire (1999) agrees with Houlihan (1994a) that criteria should be developed by which to judge 'the reach' and 'response' of global flows on local culture (p. 87) and highlights the importance to assess whether these processes affect what the latter terms the 'core' and 'ephemeral of that culture'. More recently, Maguire *et al.* (2002) have emphasised that in debates about globalisation and sport, several traps have been revealed. Two of those are the use of mono-causal logic and explanation, as

well as the false assumption that analyses when use the term 'globalisation' are necessarily referring to an homogenisation thesis. As Maguire *et al.* emphasise, "by adopting a multi-causal, multi-directional analysis that examines the production of both homogeneity and heterogeneity, we are better placed to probe the global cultural commingling that is taking place" (p. 22).

Within the context of the Olympic Games, various issues have been raised in relation to globalisation. As has been noted, over the past twenty years the process of globalisation has been extremely rapid. Underpinned by the spread of powerful ideologies such as democracy and free trade and launched by the communications development and the unlimited spectrum of media, the trend has significantly accelerated, and, because the Olympics are a global phenomenon, they constitute a terrain where all the trends accompanying the process of globalisation are manifested (Milton-Smith 2002).

Eichberg (1984) has suggested that Olympism is a 'social pattern' that reflects the "everyday culture of the western (and East European) industrial society" (p. 97). Some of the negative consequences of Olympism such as drugs, violence and the scientification of sport derive from the character of western Olympic sport and its central motto '*citius, altius, fortius*'. Olympism appears to reflect the colonial dominance of the West resulting in its success across the globe (Eichberg 1984). Wilson (1994) agreeing with Eichberg (1984) takes this view even further stating that "the major impetus for the globalisation of sport was the Olympic Movement" (cited in Maguire 1999: 29). Nonetheless, Eichberg (1984) acknowledges that there are complex processes and dynamics underpinning the globalisation of sport, underlining that western domination is subjected to resistance and the same happens to Olympism with the appearance of alternatives. These would be a revival of national cultural games emphasising on the expression of creativity. Eichberg (1984) concludes that "the age of western colonial dominance is coming to an end – and with it the predominance of Olympic sports". Thus, he believes that "new physical cultures will arise...from the different cultural traditions of the world" (Eichberg 1984: 102).

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is an example of a non-governmental international body that influences and affects the making and changing of sport

policies around the world. This can have an enormous impact on globalisation in sport (Donnelly 1996). The IOC replaced the term 'amateur' with 'non-professional' in the Olympic code in 1974 and during the preparation for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, the IOC approved prize money, sponsorship and trust funds for athletes in 1981 (Donnelly 1996). This has resulted in a professionalisation of the Olympics, part of a wider Americanisation that occurs in the sports field (Donnelly 1996; Hill 1996; Bernstein 2000). Donnelly (1996) argues that the two dominant sport ideologies of the 20th century, Olympism and professionalism, have been blended and a new ideology has emerged, the ideology of 'prolympism' (p.30).

In the articulation between Olympism and professionalism, television is one of the major determinants. World-class athletes are more attractive to Olympic television audiences than others who are not classified as such, and the same happens with some sports that are defined as 'unattractive' to those audiences (Donnelly 1996). Donnelly (1996) argues that another example of the global sports monoculture is the marginalisation of indigenous and alternative sport competitions. As he underlines, "various attempts to promote indigenous games (e.g. GANEFO Games) have been unsuccessful in combating the Olympic juggernaut" (p. 32). Furthermore, even the existing alternatives to the dominant sport culture, such as various sport festivals, master's competitions, international youth sport exchanges, and the Gay Games, have been influenced by the articulation of Olympism and professionalism and, as a consequence, they have also been incorporated in the dominant culture (Donnelly 1996).

As Hall (1992) has suggested, one possible consequence of globalisation is for the national identities to be eroded. If this is transferred in the sports context, it applies to what Donnelly (1996) describes as 'global sports monoculture', which leaves a restricted cultural space for indigenous sports traditions to be developed. However, in a comparative study of the television coverage by 28 broadcasters around the world of the Barcelona Olympic Games, Moragas Spa *et al.* (1995) found varying local perspectives of the same event. Thus, they proclaimed that these local perspectives "serve as an important reminder that local circumstances can greatly colour the experience of a global event like the Olympic Games" (cited in Bernstein 2000: 356).

Bernstein (2000) examined homogenisation or other possible consequences of globalisation in the Olympic Games. He argued that in relation to the Olympics, the global and the local has been explored in literature in two dimensions. The first is that of the tension between the ideals of the games, which proclaim the embracing of all nations, and the media coverage of the Games, which promote the event as a competition between the nation-states. The second dimension is that the games are perceived differently in various nations even if the Olympics is a global event. This second aspect is relevant with the study of Moragas Spa *et al.* (1995) which showed that the images of the games are global but interpreted from a local perspective. As Bernstein (2000) underlines “both directions, based on empirical studies, prove that although the Olympic Games are a global event, reported worldwide, they retain an important rooting in the local (national)” (p. 358). An example of possible consequences of globalisation in the Olympic context is illustrated in the following table (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Consequences of globalisation in the Olympic context (adapted by Robertson 1990)

<i>Binary oppositions of globalisation</i>	<i>Interpretations in the context of Olympism</i>
<i>Universalisation vs. particularisation</i>	Olympic value of universalism and internationalism vs. rise of nationalism in sport competitions (boycotts, national anthem, national flags).
<i>Homogenisation vs. differentiation</i>	Ideology of Olympism vs. different interpretations of values in different societies (different value systems; e.g. the practice of Islam is quite different in different countries (Hannerz, 1991: in McGrew 1992: 74).
<i>Integration vs. fragmentation</i>	The International Olympic Committee, the International Olympic Academy vs. fragmented societies with no access to the sessions of the IOA or any Olympic Education related programmes.
<i>Centralisation vs. decentralisation</i>	Powerful International Olympic Committee, the International Olympic Academy as a central educational tool of the IOC vs. local educational initiatives, municipal educational programmes, school programmes, sport clubs' seminars, and other individual educational initiatives (e.g. establishment of the Foundation of Olympic and Sport Education- FOSE- in Greece)
<i>Juxtaposition vs. syncretisation</i>	The event of the Olympic Games, the international sessions for young participants of the IOA, Olympic Forums and Congresses vs. westernisation, 'hybridisation' of cultures and values, mix of traditional with 'modern values'.

Although the Olympic Games is a global event and the “goal of the Olympic Movement...which has arisen from Olympism is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world” (Samaranch 1995: 3), the Games themselves are a vehicle for promoting nationhood (Hill 1996; Bernstein 2000). There has been much criticism in this twin operation of the Olympic Games (Hill 1996; Hoberman 1995). Milton-Smith (2002) blames the Olympic leadership for a failure to define and articulate a unifying purpose of the Olympic Games. He emphasises,

The Olympic ideals remain at the level of platitude; they do not constitute a unifying sense of purpose. There has been no rigorous public discussion of the multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives of the Games. Not only is there a lack of vision and coherent mission, there are also no major mechanisms in place to provide for public input into planning processes...Despite on the so-called Olympic ideals, the leaders of the movement have singularly failed to articulate its core values and relate them to contemporary mores and behaviour. (pp. 139-140)

Although the Olympic Games is an institution that has an enormous capacity to shape popular culture on a global scale, due to mismanagement of its leadership, the Games themselves have become a global business and the values that are included in the Olympic Charter have been forgotten (Milton-Smith 2002).

2.5 The Olympic Ideology: Critical Comments and Remarks

The Olympic Games is a mega-event that attracts the interests of many people in the academic world. Nevertheless, it was not until the 1970s that a more systematic academic interest started to appear (Segrave and Chu 1996). Many articles related to the Olympics were included in such journals as the *Journal of Sport History*, the *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* and the *International Journal of Sport Sociology*. Olympic scholarship has now been developed to a great extent and in all the socio-cultural journals related to sport there are approaches to the Olympics from different perspectives (history of the Games, politics and Olympic Games, role of women, amateur and professional issue) (MacAloon 1996; Segrave and Chu 1996). According to Avery Brundage, President of the IOC for twenty years and one of the major actors within the Olympic Movement, “the Olympic Movement is a twentieth century religion, ...a modern, exciting, dynamic religion, attractive to youth, and we of the International Olympic Committee are its disciples” (IOC Bulletin 1964: 88). The

Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement differ from other sport festivals and institutions as they are linked to an ideology (Loland 1994; Houlihan 1994b). The moral and cultural dimensions of Olympism are centred upon the practice of sports but have also implications about the everyday life. Segrave (2000) argues that many people do not know that the Olympic Movement is attached to universalist principles of 'peace, reconciliation, magnanimity and the betterment of the human lot' (p. 268-9). Nevertheless, Houlihan (1994b) emphasises, "there is always something disquieting about any organisation which describes itself as a 'religion' or 'movement' and adopts the language of mysticism as exemplified by the frequent references to 'the spirit of Olympism'" (p. 109).

Throughout the Olympic history, the idea of the amateur athlete has been at the core of Olympic virtues. Coubertin was an opponent to professionalism in sport because "men give up their whole existence to one particular sport, grow rich by practising it, and thus deprive it of all nobility, and destroy the just equilibrium of man by making the muscles predominate over the mind" (Segrave and Chu 1981 PAGE). The history of amateurism within the Olympic Movement has been focused on several debates between the IOC and various international sport federations on defining the term 'amateurism' (Lucas 1992). The IOC has provided varying definitions over the decades of the world 'amateur' (Müller 2000). Several proposals for redefining the amateur code had been submitted but it was not until 1962 at the 58th IOC Session that a more detailed statement on amateurism was approved (Segrave and Chu 1981).

In 1912 the American Indian James Thorpe, after winning both the pentathlon and decathlon, was disqualified from the IOC as being a professional because he had been paid to play baseball as a student (Murray 1993). This was the first meeting of the IOC in order to decide the disqualification of a professional athlete. Guttmann (1992) emphasises, "Thorpe's punishment indicated that prejudice about social class, not racism, was then and long remained a stumbling block on the road to Olympism" (p. 34). The concept of amateurism was based on an elitist conception of the participation in sports. In Coubertin's mind, participation in sport should be motivated by love of sport, not love for money (Murray 1993). However, this was a class bias that, in the context of the Olympic Games, marginalised all those who could not afford to participate in sports without receiving payment in some manner. Coakley

(1992) argues that “the definition of amateurism used in the Olympic Games worked for many years to the disadvantage of all people who were not white men and members of well-to-do social classes in western societies” (p. 269).

As a response to the class discrimination existing in the practices of the modern Olympic Movement, two counter movements emerged in the 1920s and 1930s. The first was the Worker’s Sports Movement which was sponsored by various socialist parties and the other was created by the Communists (see also sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2). The Communists prepared an anti-Nazi Olympiad set for 1936 in Barcelona, but because it coincided with the Fascist Rebellion of General Francisco Franco against the Spanish Republic, it was transferred to New York city – though in smaller scale (Murray 1993). The Soviets, after the World War II, created a new opponent to the Olympics, the World Youth Festivals. Hoberman (1986) argues that the IOC believed that the Communists had “no concept of either sportsmanship or amateurism, that they couldn’t be trusted and that they should be excluded” (p. 59). Nevertheless, the IOC accepted the Soviets into Olympic sports after their 1951 proposal for recognition because “they showed new character” and they “will learn by competing with the rest of the world” (Morton 1963; cited in Hoberman 1986: 58-9).

Another bias that has been implicit in the history of Olympism and the Olympic Movement is the gender bias against the participation of women. At the close of the Moscow Olympic Games of 1980 and at a women’s sport symposium in Dublin, Ireland, the IOC’s director, Monique Berlioux, complained about the non-existence of female members in the IOC and the NOCs, the international sport federations, emphasising that only 3% of all official were women (Lucas 1992). The issue of women’s participation in the Olympics is one of “struggle and diversity-power and control were fought over, not just between men and women, but between different groups of women” (Hargreaves 1994: 10).

According to Hargreaves (1994), there have been three phases of women’s participation in the modern Olympic Games. The first, from 1896 until 1928 was a period of exclusion of women and some isolated efforts on the part some to resist. The second phase includes the years 1928-1952, wherein there were many struggles for the participation of women and some events were accepted after a strict control

whether they met the criteria that were set for inclusion. The last phase, from 1952 until the present, is defined as a period of challenge to the masculine hegemony. In this last phase it is apparent that the accelerating chase for medals on part of the Soviet bloc without any concern whether these medals were won by male or female athletes increased the participation of women in the Olympics (Toohey and Veal 2000). Coubertin opposed women's participation as his vision for the Olympic Games included only amateur male athletes (Hargeaves 1994; Toohey and Veal 2000). In Lucas' (1981) view "Pierre de Coubertin was a great man in many ways, but because he was a consummate Victorian-Edwardian gentleman, he found it impossible during his 29 years of IOC leadership to encourage vigorous 'ladies' events' at the Summer Olympic Games" (p. 134). Segrave and Chu (1981) argue that Coubertin's views on the participation of women in sports reflect the view of the majority of people in the late 19th century. Throughout his writings, he expressed his views against women in sport. In his essay "Women in the Olympic Games" (1912), he defined the Olympic Games as '... the solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism with internationalism as a base, loyalty as a means, art for its setting, and female applaud as reward' (p.76).

Simri (1981) also notes that Coubertin's views expressed the French attitudes towards the participation of women and that there were differences in the French attitudes from the American, the British or the German views on this issue. In reference to the French attitudes, the great inequalities in participation of sports for women forced Alice Milliat, the first militant leader of women's sports on the international scene, towards the creation of the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale in 1921 (Simri 1981). The organisation of the Women's Olympics was also an indicator of resistance to the gender inequalities that were implied from the Olympic ideology and its practices (Guttmann 1992).

The restraints in participation of women in sports and the Olympic Games have also been approached in conjunction with religion. The French attitudes towards the participation of women had been influenced by the strict strand of Catholicism evident in the French establishment. Another example of the restraining forces of a religion is that of Iran. When Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in Iran in 1979 one of his first actions was to forbid Iranian women from participating in physical activities while dressed 'improperly' and in the presence of males (Simri 1981).

Nevertheless, the IOC views women's rights as universal human rights, failing to understand deeper the matter of religion as cultural particularism (MacAloon 1996). In a press-conference in Barcelona the IOC spokeswoman Michele Verdier answered a question regarding the absence of women athletes in the Olympic delegations of many Islamic countries creating 'a storm' with her answer (MacAloon 1996: 71). In MacAloon's viewpoint,

She suggested that the IOC was not prepared to more strongly intervene because gender issues were 'a matter of religion and custom' in these societies. The stated concern was less with the danger of feminist imperialism than with religious imperialism, reflecting the special and especially ambiguous status of 'religion' as a category in European logic. (p. 71)

MacAloon (1996) here argues that a Eurocentric logic is apparent and dominant in the Olympic Movement. Olympism is ideologically and practically engaged in the production of transpersonal, transnational, and pan-human identities (MacAloon 1992). Olympic internationalism is thus based on the Eurocentric conception that there exists a world of universal truth irrespective of human differences in culture and tradition (Segrave and Chu 1996). The Olympic values are, thus, largely considered as western moral ideals, principles of western liberalism (Morgan 1994). Guttmann (1992: 72) argues that 'the root difficulty' of the Games "is that modern sports, like the universalistic political ideals institutionalised in the Olympic Games, are themselves a product of western civilisation". The value of true universalism is thus challenged from the domination of western and Eurocentric logic in the orientation and practices of the Olympic Movement.

The modern Olympic Games have been conceived and dominated by western society and have mostly reflected elite and Eurocentric values (Hanna 1999). Shinya Izumi commenting on Japan's hosting of the Olympic Games, emphasised "the Olympics is the passport to join the western advanced society, especially for Orientals" (cited in Hanna 1999: 52). For some, Coubertin's 'universal' philosophy was applied to a Eurocentric context where representatives from 'oppressed nations' were absent from the Games (Hanna 1999). The Olympic Charter defines the aims of the Olympic Movement as "educating young people through sport in spirit of better understanding between each other and of friendship, thereby helping to create a better and more peaceful world" (1996). Nevertheless, neither the Charter nor any other official document further defines or elaborates the forms of understanding and

friendship that are supposed to promote peace (MacAloon 1996). In all the Olympic documents, the goals of Olympism are centred upon a universal principle of non-discrimination and the prohibition of racial, religious and political discrimination regarding the participation in the Olympic Games and Olympic Movement. Nonetheless, MacAloon (1996) argues that "in keeping with the Charter's European origins, the category of ethnicity is subsumed under race and religion. Linguistic prejudice is not mentioned in a movement whose official languages are French and English" (p. 70).

The anti-discrimination section of Rule 3 of the 1975 'Fundamental Principles' was included in the Charter to deal with any kind of racist policies. However, it was not until May 1970 that the Republic of South Africa, due to pressure outside the IOC, was finally expelled from the Olympics, an action that the IOC delegate characterised as 'illegal and immoral' because it was anti-universal. Hoberman (1986) emphasises that this action should not be conceived as something more than it really was, an attempt for "the preservation of the movement's pluralism for its own sake" (p. 30). As Hoberman argues, "Coubertin himself was a cheerful colonialist whose views on race were typical of his era. An understanding of the Olympic Movement requires that this sort of toleration not be mistaken for a genuine fraternalism based on ethics" (p. 30). And he goes even further, claiming that the three major figures of the Olympic Movement, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, Carl Diem and Avery Brundage have all been proponents of amoral universalism which strives for "global participation at all costs, even sacrificing rudimentary moral standards" (1986: 32).

The Olympic leaders and their moral values were questioned and subjected to severe criticism when certain incidents at the Winter Olympic Games of 2002 in Salt Lake City were revealed. This is perhaps the most illuminating example of the considerable gap that exists between organisational ideals and organisation as conduct within the Olympic Movement. Segrave (2000) argues that this chasm between the Olympic ideals and the organisation of the Olympic Games can be explained when looked at within the theoretical framework of modernity, postmodernism and neo-modernity. The Games were conceived in the late 19th century as a classic expression of modernity. The 19th century revival of the Hellenic spirit and the ideology of muscular Christianity formed the Olympic Movement, having at its core humanistic values and some of the major tenets of the Enlightenment philosophy, such as

rationality, science and progress (Segrave 2000). But while Olympism was defined and conceived by the modernist project, the Olympic Games soon became part of the forthcoming postmodernism. Principles of relativism and privatism were dominant and the advanced technologies increased the commercialisation and spectacularisation of the Games, leading Donnelly (1996), as we have noted, to suggest that what exists is a sports monoculture, a fusion of professionalism with Olympism, in his terms 'prolympism'.

Nevertheless, Segrave (2000), expresses the positive and optimistic view that the modernist project is being revisited after the collapse of communism and there is again hope for the Olympic ideals to be put into practice in the era of neo-modernism. MacAloon (1992) argues that the older Eurocentric conception of Olympic internationalism as universal humanism is no longer sufficient to reflect even the European, much less the rest of the worldviews on internationalism. Neo-modern Olympism, it is argued, should acquire a broader ontology than one rooted in European origins in order to acquire political validity for the rest of the world. Thus, Segrave (2000) suggests that the utopian ideals and universalist proclamations should be replaced by a de-centred and self-conscious reflectivity about its ideological implications. Olympism, in Segrave's (2000) view, "must refrain from the sort of totalising concepts and practices that once laid it open to the charges of ethnocentricity and cultural imperialism and brought it close to utter discredit" (p. 278).

Undoubtedly, if the Olympic Movement is to take this rhetoric seriously, then serious efforts should be made in the field of education to ensure that Olympic athletes and everybody involved in the Olympic Movement understands how the Olympic ideals can be put into practice. Segrave (2000) believes that Olympism should reflect a more pluralist set of values. In similar vein, Kadoodooba (1997) argued that Olympic education programmes should respect local cultures and their own systems of values but should also aim at a fruitful combination of Olympic values with local and traditional values as a message to local populations. However, Kidd (1996) argues that although the Olympic Movement offers rich opportunities for intercultural education and exchanges, people do not know how to obtain the best out of these experiences. He acknowledges that there are many educational programmes such as the Olympic Days and the Junior Olympic Programmes offered by NOCs, the plethora

of courses that are delivered in the IOA and the NOAs, the Olympic Solidarity Commission, and the Olympic Museum, the Olympic Study Centres and the curricular resource kits, films, videos and other resources that are produced from the NOCs and OCOGs for distribution in schools and sport clubs. Nevertheless, he argues,

An important impetus for these initiatives has been the desire by Olympic leaders at all levels to address the crisis in legitimacy occasioned by the escalating professionalism and commercialism of the Games, the proliferation of doping scandals, and the widening inequality in opportunity as living conditions worsen in many countries and globalisations escalates. (p. 88)

Moreover, all these programmes seem to focus on brief accounts of Olympic history, ceremonies and emblems and the qualities of Olympic Presidents and Olympic champions. Very few concentrate on developmental and educational aspects of sporting preparations, training and competitions (Kidd 1996). Parry (1994) argues that a confusion of the role of education and about the goal of educational programmes often derives from the different interpretations of 'education'. 'Education' often means 'giving information about' or 'instruction in' but it can also refer to a more general idea of task aiming at the development of personal characteristics and mind qualities. Thus, Parry (1994) suggests that there are some who believe that Olympic education should aim at informing people about the structure of the Olympic Movement and the ideals of Olympism, and others who believe that Olympic education should go further and its principles should be incorporated in the school curriculum aiming at enhancing pupil's knowledge and qualities of mind (Parry 1994). In Parry's view Olympic education should expand much further than just informing about the history of Olympism and be an active part of the school curriculum.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the theories of modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation. It explored different ways of interpreting global phenomena and provided the conceptual framework within which the expression of values associated with the Olympic ideology is identified and evaluated.

The impact of modernisation, rationalisation and secularisation on the formation and interests of Olympism has been investigated together with other modernisation processes that influenced different societies in the world. The effect of colonialism and the influential role of the European imperialistic powers in developing a Eurocentric, western model of Olympism were also considered. The new global order, with the interconnectedness of the world, the homogenising and diversifying powers of globalisation, was examined in relation to Olympism and its extended scope in a world of technological advancement, capitalist commodities, conflicting ideologies and fragmented societies.

In the following two chapters we will be looking to articulate the nature of the context within which Olympism as a philosophy was developing, and outlining the methodology for the empirical analysis of the changing nature of expressions of Olympism within such changing contexts.

Historical Framework of the Olympic Movement: Geo-political, Cultural and Economic Dimensions

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the theoretical framework of modernity, cultural imperialism and globalisation through which Olympism and its values will be investigated in ensuing chapters in the global context. This chapter aims to provide the historical framework of the Olympic Movement in which Olympism appeared, developed and diffused. The chapter will examine how political, economic and cultural changes and conditions influenced the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. This will help us later in the analysis to identify, understand and answer questions concerning changes in the meaning of Olympism and its values through the years. To accomplish this, five historical periods are identified and reviewed: the imperialist era, late imperialism, neo-colonialism and the Cold War, and the post-Cold War era.

3.2 Olympic Historiography

This section examines issues related to the general nature of historical knowledge with specific references to Olympic history, as outlined to a large extent by Booth (2004) drawing arguments from a framework developed by Munslow (1997; cited in Booth 2004: 13). Investigating Olympic historiography has a twofold purpose; first to provide the reader with knowledge about the different models of Olympic history, and second to provide insights about the historical framework of the present study. Munslow (1997) identified three basic models of historical inquiry: reconstruction, construction and deconstruction. Both reconstructionists and constructionists employ empirical methods and accept historical 'evidence' as proof that they can retrieve the past. The major difference between them is the extent to which they employ *a priori* knowledge from theories and concepts of others, using it as a tool for their

interpretation and explanation of relationships between events. Although constructionists accept that others' theoretical accounts can prove instructive to their understanding of the past, reconstructionists deny such a prospect. On different epistemological grounds, deconstructionists do not agree that empirical methods can provide objective representations of the past. Instead, they perceive history "as a constitutive narrative" that lacks "moral and intellectual certainty" (Munslow 1997: 14-15). Hence, they argue that historical understanding implies relativism and believe that there is no single interpretation of history; rather they believe that there are different perspectives within the history.

The first two models, reconstructionism and constructionism, seem to dominate Olympic history, whereas Olympic historians are sceptical about using deconstructionism, being reluctant about the reliability of non empirically-based historical evidence¹. For instance, Boulogne (2000) can be regarded as a reconstructionist due to his polemic against any ideological involvement in the historical text. Reconstructionists argue that history exists independently of the historian and they believe they can recover the past with objectivity and without ideological biases. They present history using narrative as a medium, and do not accept ideological commentary in historical accounts because they argue that it leads to historical distortion and it removes the historical evidence by attaching subjectivity to it. Boulogne (2000) argues that 'feminist leagues', radical political groups' and the 'sporting-counter-society' selectively ignore evidence from historical texts of Pierre de Coubertin, attaching their own ideological interests. MacAloon (1981), in his biography of Coubertin, also seems to be reconstructionist in the sense that he is careful about employing *a priori* knowledge from theories. He makes it clear that these concepts borrowed from cultural theory, sociology and psychology are 'strategic recourses' due to the 'absence' of primary sources (MacAloon 1981: xiii-17).

Reconstructionist and constructionist approaches share many assumptions, and for that reason, in many cases the distinction between the two requires further investigation.

¹ The closest Olympic history to deconstructionism can be considered Douglas Brown's (2001) discourse analysis of Pierre de Coubertin's *Revue Olympique* (Booth 2004).

Booth (2004) underlines that most Olympic historians are reconstructionists, adopting concepts outside the field and appropriating it to their study without constructing, testing or confirming formal theories of the modern Olympics or Olympism¹. The majority of Olympic historians utilises 'organising concepts' which guide their interpretations of the evidence provided. Most common concepts in Olympic history are: classes of objects (e.g. amateur sports, women's sports), general notions (amateurism, professionalisation, commercialisation), themes (nationalism, internationalism), and periods (e.g. age of fascism, post-colonialism, Cold War) and groupings of inter-linked characteristics (e.g. modernity, imperialism, globalisation).

Guttman (1992), in *The Olympics*, seeks to understand the Olympic Movement within the context of twentieth-century nationalism and international politics. Guttman's approach falls into the contextual model developed by Marwick (1998), comprising four principal components: a) major forces and constraints (i.e. structural - geographical, demographic, economic and technological; ideological - existing political and social philosophies; institutional - systems of government, organisations), b) events (First World War, Second World War), c) human agencies (politicians, key agents of the Olympic Movement), d) convergences and contingencies (interaction between agencies and structures leading to unforeseen events and situations). Ideological forces such as nationalism and fascism, the Cold War and decolonisation are all examined in relation to their impact on the Olympics and the Olympic Movement. Human agents, particularly Coubertin, Brundage and Samaranch, are examined to a large extent in his analysis. Moreover, interrelationships between events and human agencies are also examined as generators of unforeseen circumstances (the end of the Cold War, the success of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and a new president initiating a renewed interest in the Olympics). However, although Guttman (1992) takes into account more complex processes, such as the interrelationship between structures and human agencies, in order to increase the reliability of his historical account, still he has to make *his*

¹ Booth (2004) regards John Hoberman's (1995) approach as the only exception, which attempts to invent a concept (idealistic internationalisms) by comparing four international organisations (the Red Cross, the Esperanto movement, the Scouting movement and the Olympic Movement).

selection about which forces, which events, which agents, or which convergences he privileges in his analysis. This shows that it can be difficult for historians, especially for those who adopt a contextual approach, not to bring their own biases and judgements when reporting Olympic history.

The three approaches, as outlined by Booth (2004), provide three models of history that Olympic historians utilise when interpreting historical evidence. The different historical approaches demonstrate that the researcher should take into consideration the diverse historical models for reporting history, but it also highlights the restrictions and inherent limitations in the historical reviews of Olympism and the Olympic Movement provided. Some historical accounts might present history overemphasising a strictly factual representation of historical evidence (Boulogne 1999, Lucas 1981), whereas others might be more flexible employing particular theories or theoretical concepts as tools to propose and explain relationships between events (MacAloon 1981; Guttman 1992). More rarely, some might attempt to invent new concepts within Olympic history (Hoberman 1995). Nonetheless, most Olympic historians are not completely neutral or devoid of ideological biases. Olympic history can be divided into accounts written by defenders of the Olympics (Boulogne 1999, Lucas 1980; Howell 1994) and critics (Hoberman 1986, Hill 1992, Booth and Tatz 1994; Lenskyj 2000; 2002). Hoberman (1995: 2) argues in relation to this:

...Historical interpretations of the Olympic Movement have generally taken the form of 'either hagiographies or hagiolatries' (quoting MacAloon 1986). [...] Due at least in part to the impassioned and seemingly endless debate between the defenders and detractors of Olympism, with its pronounced emphasis on ethical values at the expense of historical factors, serious study of the Olympic Movement has stagnated.

For the purposes of the current project, the researcher will review the history of the Olympic Movement, in order to establish the historical context in which Olympism was conceived and developed. However, arguments will be drawn from generic world history accounts and a range of studies of Olympic history, aiming at providing a comprehensive historical framework. Since it is acknowledged that historical studies may convey ideological meanings, the information provided is critically evaluated.

3.3 Chronology of history: different approaches

In order to review the historical framework of the Olympic Movement, it is necessary to locate it within the wider context of world history. Al-Tauqi (2003) has remarked that researchers who examine changes in the global order employ historical structural methods in order to organise the material in such a way that facilitates the process of investigation. Different researchers have divided world history into slightly different eras depending on the needs of their research focus. Huntington (1996) divides world history into three political spheres: the imperialist period (1500 to the 1920s), the Cold War period (1920-1980s) and lastly the post- Cold War period (1990s- until today). A major limitation of Huntington's (1996) work is its deterministic and simplistic approach to understanding world changes, work attributing absolute power to the West as a determinant for the creation or regression of civilisations. His analysis starts from 'one world' in the 1920s to 'three worlds' of the 1960s and multiple worlds after the 1990s ignoring many variations and dimensions that exist in between (Al-Tauqi 2003). Hoogvelt (1997), in order to examine issues related to the development and capitalist expansion of 'Third World' countries, divides world history into four periods: the 'mercantile phase' (1500 to 1800), the colonial period (1800 to 1950s) and the neo-colonial phase (from 1950 to 1970s).

In similar manner, but with slight variations, Maguire's (1999) division of history in order to explain the global diffusion of modern sport adopts Robertson's (1992) model of the globalisation process. Maguire outlines five phases that constitute the 'sportisation process': the initial phase from 1500-1850 when people started to understand the notions of 'humanity' and 'individual' and the early scientific discoveries emerged; the second phase from 1850 to the 1870s where homogenous states started to form and sport became part of them; the third phase ('take-off') from the 1870s to 1920, where globalisation came into effect and international sport started to develop; the fourth phase (the 'struggle for hegemony') from the 1920s to 1980s where the Cold War and the politics of the opposing ideologies influenced the global politics and the modern sport profile; the fifth and last phase ('the uncertainty phase' in the post 1990s and post- Cold War period where the global inter-connection increased, different ethnicities emerged and problems of fragmentation and isolation became central.

Roche (2000) has also identified different historical periods in order to explain the history of the Modern Games as a mega-event with global scope. He reviews the Olympic Movement through the lenses of three different forms of internationalist politics, dividing the world into four different chronological periods: the imperialist politics during the colonial period from 1850s to the 1920s; the period of the rise of nationalisms ('supernationalisms') from the 1920s to 1945 ('the interwar period') which experienced the emergence of ideological absolutisms and the authoritarian regimes of Fascism and Nazism and is also regarded as part the (neo)- imperialist politics; the political struggle of the Cold War and the competing ideologies of communism and capitalism in the period between 1945 to the late 1980s; and finally the period after the 1990s with the rise of globalisation, the dominance of capitalism and the ideology of consumerism.

Many researchers, who examine the Olympic Movement and the meaning of Olympism, focus on Ancient Greece and the ancient Olympics. Toohey and Veal (2000) divide the history of the Olympic Movement into the Ancient and the Modern Olympics investigating certain aspects of the modern era and their relevance to the past. While examining the modern Olympic Movement, they focus on the revival of the Modern Games and the imperialist era; the rise of nationalisms and the emergence of authoritarian regimes in the period after 1920s; the Cold War period and the influence of the two opposing ideologies in the Olympic Games with the new practices of commercialism, professionalism and drug-taking; and the period after the end of the Cold War with the highly competitive ethos of the Games, the high profits and the large scale of the event across the globe.

Additionally, most studies focusing on Olympism or the Olympic Movement make special references to the period of the early nineteenth century as a highly significant period and starting point of the philosophy in modern era (Lucas, 1980, Segrave and Chu 1988, 1981; Guttmann 1992; Hill 1992; Riordan and Krüger 1999; Toohey and Veal 2000; Schaffer and Smith 2000; Hoberman 1995). Guttmann (1992), reviewing the history of the modern Olympic Movement, focuses on the following historical periods: the years of education and personal development of Baron Pierre de Coubertin with the emergence of the idea of revival of the modern Olympics (1863-1896); the early years of struggle and success of the Olympic Movement (1897-

1914); the period when the Olympic Games are endangered by the First World War but manage to reach maturity (1914-1932); the period when the emergence of authoritarian regimes have a strong impact on the Olympic Movement and the Olympics are hosted in Berlin 1936 ('the most controversial Olympics'); the destruction and recovery of the Olympic Movement during and right after the Second World War years (1940-1949); the Olympic Movement in the shadow of the Cold War (1949-1955); the era of (relative) good relations (1955-1960); the period of organisational strains (1960-1970s); the time of troubles in the post-colonial period and the recognition of National Olympic Committees (NOC) by the IOC (1964-1972); the era of boycotts (1972-1984); and lastly the period post 1988 and the beginning of the post-Cold War era.

Despite the differences in chronology among the different researchers, most approaches identify a similar set of major changes and, according to the purpose of their research, emphasise subsequent trends and flows. In the present study, the researcher recognises the importance of dividing the Olympic Movement into historical periods in order to identify and examine ideological, political, economic and cultural shifts throughout time. The chronology follows similar patterns with those identified in literature, but adjusted to the needs of the present study. Therefore, first, Olympism is located in late nineteenth century Europe, an important period for the emergence of Olympism and the formation of modern sport culture (with the establishment of the modern Olympic Games, the foundation of sport federations, associations and clubs, and the inauguration of *Tour de France*) (Roche 2000; Hoberman 1995). The impact of western imperialism and European colonial control on the Olympic Movement is discussed. Moreover, the role of Baron Pierre de Coubertin in the revival of the modern Olympic Games is highlighted and historical accounts of the early Olympic Games are provided. Second, the late imperialist era and the inter-war period are reviewed, focusing on the consequences of the First World War upon the Olympic Movement. Resistance against the bourgeois Olympics is also examined, as expressed through the organisation of alternative Games, such as the *Worker's Olympics* and *Women's World Games*, and the use of sport as part of foreign policy, especially after the emergence of authoritarian regimes, are also examined. The penultimate section deals with the era of post-colonialism and the ideological conflicts in Olympics during the Cold War period. The rejection by the IOC of political involvement in world affairs and its contradictory political profile through

the recognition of NOCs are discussed. The decolonisation process and the use of sport as a binding force of national identity are also examined. Finally, the last section is centred on the post-Cold War era and the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the re-making of the world order. Different interpretations of the new global order are provided (unipolar or multipolar) and the role of the contemporary 'global' Olympic Movement is examined.

3.4 Imperialism and the Olympic Movement

Many cultural and social analysts attribute high level of importance to the late nineteenth century (*fin de siècle, belle époque*) in the formation of the popular culture of western modernity. A number of cultural events took place especially in Britain, France, Germany and the United States. Hobsbawm (1992) uses the concept 'invented traditions' to describe the newly emerged cultural manifestations, seeing them as tools used by the middle and upper middle classes to generate consent to their control of the working class.

To establish the clustering of 'invented traditions' in western countries between 1870 and 1914 is relatively easy. Examples include 'old school ties and jubilees, Bastille Day and the Daughters of the American Revolution, May Day, the Internationale and the Olympic Games,...the Cup Final and Tour de France as popular rites, and the institution of flag worship in USA (Hobsbawm 1992: 303).

Hobsbawm's (1992) approach to public culture is related to sociological concerns about the nature of western modernity and social dynamics in this period, by drawing arguments from neo-Marxist analysis of capitalist dynamics and class struggles. As part of his analysis, he examines the different cultural policies that France and the Third Republic initiated, in an effort to reinstate good relations with the public after the loss of the Franco-Prussian War (1870). Some of the cultural policies were the secularisation of education, placing emphasis on republican values and the mass production of public monuments (the female figure 'Marianne', as symbol of French Revolution, the Eiffel Tower, as symbol of technical progress, and the Statue of Liberty, donated to the newly established American republic in 1886). Moreover, there was a general tendency to organise international expos and thus the Third Republic was responsible for three of the most important of the late nineteenth-century series of International Expositions, namely those staged in Paris

in 1878, 1889 and 1900 (Roche 2000). Hobsbawm's analysis of invented traditions provides comparative accounts of a number of countries, and thus his approach does have some international dimensions. However, his approach is mainly concerned with national class relations, and for that reason, it provides limited information about the development of international public culture (Roche 2000).

Roche's (2000) approach takes into account international relations and movements, providing a wider picture of international public culture. He argues that the national expos in France in the 1840s and the first international expo in London in 1851 had imperial themes. Britain, through the expos, was demonstrating its industrial and imperial power by displaying its technological and scientific achievements. Late nineteenth imperial expos involved grand parades and impressive spectacles to celebrate the wealth and power of the imperial hosts (Roche 2000).

Imperialism had been a foundational theme in the approach of Britain and France to the early international expos of the 1850s and 1860s. In addition it rapidly became an even more important theme in the expos of the 1880s and 1890s and thereafter, connected with the European nations' 'scramble for Africa' and America's extension of its influence in the Pacific via Hawaii and the Philippines (Roche 2000: 23).

Apart from the international expos, sport events were also organised to generate political benefits. In 1859 and 1870, sport festivals, similar to the Ancient Greek Olympic Games, were held in Greece. Greece owed these Games to Evangelios Zappas, a rich merchant of Greek origin living in Romania who was really passionate about Greece (Hill 1992; Krüger 1999). Zappas, inspired by the German archaeologist Ernst Curtius when he stated in one of his lectures on 10 January 1852 that the Games should be revived, wanted to see Greece regaining its leading position in the western cultural world (Hill 1992). Zappas tried to convince King Otto I that an Olympic contest should be held to reinforce the political image of Greece in the modern world (Hill 1992). Since it was entirely financed by Zappas, Otto agreed and in 1858 Zappas gave money to the Greek government to establish an Olympic Trust Fund whose purpose was to organise competitions at four-year intervals. The first festival took place in Athens in 1859 and included a combination of arts,

exhibition and athletic events. The second festival, held in 1870, had a similar programme but took place on a site outside Athens which had been acquired by the Fund (Hill 1992). The 1875 and 1889 Games were also held in Greece but are considered by historians as less significant (Hill 1992).

The English also attempted to revive the ancient Olympics, when in 1849 Dr. W. P. Brookes instituted the *Olympian Games* near Much Wenlock in Shropshire. Brookes had access to leading figures in the country, and through his contacts, obtained 725 subscriptions for the forerunner of the Olympian Society, the Agricultural Reading Society (founded in 1841). It was actually intended for all classes – though there is no record of who actually had access to the library - but one of the main reasons for encouraging people to read was to help them decide how to vote after the extension of the franchise in the Reform Act of 1832 (Hill 1992). Brookes had a passionate interest in physical education in state schools and he found it unacceptable that farm labourers should have compulsory drawing lessons but no physical training; thus, he used the Wenlock Olympian Society as a vehicle through which he would be able to propagate his views (Hill 1992). In 1891, the Australian John Astley Cooper proposed a Pan-Britannic and Anglo-Saxon Festival to which athletes from the United States and the British Empire would be invited. Sports would be the means for them to demonstrate Anglo-Saxon superiority and friendship (Hill 1992; Guttmann 1992; Krüger and Riordan 1999).

Nonetheless, the most successful endeavour of reviving the ancient Olympic Games was made by a Frenchman, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. There was a dispute about who actually revived first the Ancient Olympic Games. Young (1984 cited in Hill 1992: 16) emphasises that Coubertin “feigned amnesia about these earlier Games” (1859) and, for that reason, the Greek press regarded him as a ‘thief’ when he claimed the credit for reviving them (Guttmann 1992). Coubertin countered this argument by emphasising that his own project was different, because it was international and not limited to drawing athletes from the Greek world. However, even this argument did not persuade his rivals and those who were suspicious of his plans and ambitions.

3.4.1 Baron Pierre de Coubertin

Coubertin, like many other Frenchmen, wanted revenge for the defeat and the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian war. As a descendant of an aristocratic family, Coubertin might have felt a special responsibility 'to seek *revanche* for the debacle at Sedan' (Guttmann 1992: 8). As with many young aristocrats, Coubertin initially considered a military career. After spending some time at the French military academy St. Cyr, he was persuaded that becoming a soldier would not suit him. He subsequently decided to attend classes at the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, where the social theories of Frédéric Le Play attracted his attention (Guttmann 1992: p. 8). In 1883, he joined the *Unions de la Paix*, founded by Le Play, and he wrote many essays that were published in Le Play's journal *La Reforme Sociale*. Although Coubertin studied history, literature, education, sociology and many other subjects, he focused his attention on education, and in particular on sports education (*pédagogie sportive*) (Hill 1992). Coubertin thought that the defeat in the Franco-Prussian war was not a result of the lack of military skills of Napoleon III, but of the physical inferiority of the average French youth.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, at a time that Napoleon I had occupied much of Germany, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn had developed an extremely nationalistic form of gymnastics, the 'Turnen'. Jahn added a patriotic motive to what German educators had developed at the end of the eighteenth century: to unify the divided German Volk and to eject the hated Napoleonic invaders from German soil (Hobsbawm 1992). Turnen became the basis of physical education in German public schools, as well as the dominant sport in private clubs and sports associations (Guttmann 1992). Coubertin suspected that German soldiers were much fitter than the French, and that if the latter wished to confront the Germans successfully, they had to improve their physical capacities. Therefore, he concluded that the solution was a sport-based educational reform (Müller 2000), unlike his contemporaries who suggested a theory-based educational reform (Hoberman 1995).

Accordingly, he travelled to Germany, England, the United States and Canada to inspect the leading approaches personally (Kidd 1996). While studying the German approach, he concluded that there were probably better paths to physical development than the rigid routines of German physical education (Guttmann 1992).

In the United States (1889) and Canada, he visited the early programmes of intercollegiate athletics, and he was really impressed by the excellent facilities that the colleges and universities had made available to their students. In *Universités Transatlantiques* (1890), he wrote enthusiastically of what he had seen (Guttman 1992); but still he had not found something that impressed him sufficiently to advocate its implementation in the French context (Kidd 1996). Therefore, Coubertin travelled to England, knowing that the English were passionate about sports, as at Eton, Harrow, Winchester and the rest of the Public Schools, boys were practising for many hours daily the activities of rowing, running, jumping and ball games (Hoberman 1995).

Coubertin's enthusiasm for English sports education escalated, when, in 1875, he read a French translation of *Tom Brown's School Days* (1856), a novel in which Thomas Hughes romanticised his memories of Rugby School. In his study *L'Éducation en Angleterre* (1888), Coubertin, at the age of twenty-five, wrote of Arnold, that he "could not have been English if he had not loved sport" (Guttman 1992: 9). Nonetheless, Guttman (1992) and Hoberman (1995) argue that Coubertin was misled by Hughes and thought that Thomas Arnold had been a fervent advocate of sports. In fact, Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby school from 1828 to 1842 (Hill 1992), was far more interested in boys' moral education than in their physical development (Guttman 1992). No matter what the real focus of Arnold was, Coubertin admired the combination of physical health and character that was reflected in the sport of the English youth. After visiting Rugby school in 1883, Coubertin was totally convinced that the British approach to sport in education would help to invigorate France (Kidd 1996). In one of his memoirs, *Une Champagne de Vingt-et-un Ans* (1909), Coubertin described his visit to the chapel of the Rugby school as 'pilgrimage' and Arnold became for him an inspirational figure (Guttman 1992).

His openness to English and American influences brought Coubertin into conflict with his Anglophobic countrymen (Guttman 1992). Pascal Grousset, organiser of an extremely nationalistic *Ligue Nationale de l'Éducation Physique*, insisted on having French sports with French names. For instance, when league members showed a big interest on playing *football*, he desperately and persistently wanted to rename the sport *la barrette*. In this climate of disapproval and chauvinism, Coubertin was

steadily and frequently publishing papers urging the French to emulate the English, as a preparation for revenging the defeat by Prussia (Guttman 1992). Working closely with educators from progressive schools, such as *L'École Monge* and *L'École Alsacienne*, he propagandised athleticism, a dominant element in the British secondary education. Additionally, Coubertin organised or re-organised a number of sports associations, of which the most important was the *Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques* (USFSA), which was founded in 1890 by Coubertin and his friend Georges St.-Clair. In a letter from Coubertin to Brookes in July 1892, he indicates that he was using the union as the base for reviving the Games. The union had reached sixty-two member societies with about 7,000 participants and this made him believe that the revival of the Ancient Olympic Games was close. His studies of classical history, as well as his experiences from travelling in different domains comparing educational programmes, had convinced him that 'sport' and 'character' were the ingredients for the successful development of youth. In ancient Greece this combination was achieved, through a triple unity in Athens gymnasia: between old and young, between different disciplines, and between people of different types (Hill 1992).

It was not until 1889 that Coubertin decided to try to revive the Games, and thus he devoted the next five years to the preparation of the International Congress of Sportsmen in 1894 (Hill 1992). Many scholars (Kidd 1996; MacAloon 1996; Hoberman 1986) argue that Coubertin's revival of the Olympic Games aimed at revitalising French society and reducing the imperialist rivalries of the European powers and the growing likelihood of war, with the possibility of further French defeat. To a certain extent, Coubertin changed the focus of his interests over the years (Hoberman 1986). In his early years, his writings were centred on preserving the equilibrium of 'modern' individuals and societies, whereas by 1931, with the publication of his *Olympic Memoirs*, his focus was more on preserving the influence and autonomy of the IOC (Hoberman 1986). Coubertin, in later life, was keener on the survival of the Olympic Movement than the 'ideological cleavage of the world' (Hoberman 1986: 33).

Coubertin's revival can be interpreted as representing both his nationalist and internationalist tendencies; being traumatised by the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war, Coubertin offered a formula for making French youth more robust,

healthy and physically fit. However, Coubertin, as an internationalist, perceived sport as a 'pacifier', a means for enhancing peace in the world and fighting controversy (Hoberman 1986, p.34). Toohey and Veal (2000) argue that it would not be an exaggeration to acknowledge Coubertin as the driving force and designer of the modern Olympic Games. Most of his ideas are drawn from the Ancient Greece and how Ancient Greeks defined democracy and their values and principles (Hill 1992). His ideal of Olympism, a synthesis of supposed ancient Greek practices and nineteenth century British sporting ideas, internationalism and peace, inspired him to revive the Olympic Games (Toohey 2000; Parry 1994).

3.4.2 Modern Olympic Games: The Revival and the Early Years

Olympism was 'in the air' during the period of the 1890s (Lucas 1981), but it was not until 1894 that it started to take a more specific definition and form. In 1894, Coubertin arranged an international congress, during which the decision was taken to revive the Olympic Games (Hill 1992). This congress in Paris (1894), although it only resulted in the founding of an Olympic Committee and the drawing up of statutes, counts as the first Olympic Congress (Müller 1994). Coubertin took advantage of the fifth anniversary of the *Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques* (USFSA), held on November 28, to spread the idea of reviving the Games to a group of French and foreign dignitaries. For the first time, Coubertin could express his project publicly before his acquaintances and colleagues (Boulogne 1999). However, there was a considerable array of opposition from the Ministry of education, professional cyclists, weightlifters, oarsmen and football players (IOC 1994; Guttmann 1992). Hill (1992) argues that 'a man was a fencer or an oarsman or a cyclist, but did not have the Olympic ideal of being simply a sportsman' (p.17). Different sport clubs and associations were autonomous, and inter-connections and collaborations among them were non-existent at that time. Nevertheless, the idea of Olympism had started to be spread among the sport circles and Coubertin was determined to downplay any oppositions (Boulogne 1999).

During 1892 and 1893, Coubertin wanted to increase the public interest in Olympism and, for that reason, he convinced the USFSA that a Congress should be held about the issue of amateurism, the focus of significant debate at that time. He never

directly advocated the rebirth of the Olympic Games, but his aim was to strengthen USFSA's internal organisation, to broaden its influence in the French provinces and mostly to establish relations with foreign unions, by raising the issue of amateurism (Hill 1992). As part of the efforts to make his ideas known, Coubertin attended Chicago's Columbian Exposition as an official representative of the French Ministry of Education (Guttmann 1992), and then he spent three weeks at Princeton University as a guest of Professor William Milligan Sloane. Coubertin failed to obtain support from any of the American sport administrators and the biggest disappointment came from failing to win the co-operation of the secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union, James E. Sullivan, with whom he never succeeded in developing a close relationship (Guttmann 1992).

His ideas did not have much appeal in London either (February 1894) (Hill 1992), but the Prince of Wales and Charles Herbert, secretary of the Amateur Athletic Association for England and its colonies, expressed their support to Coubertin (Guttmann 1992). On August 1, 1893, Coubertin submitted the preparatory programme, which he had drafted by his own hand, entitled 'Paris International Congress for the Study and Propagation of Amateuristic Exercises (Guttmann 1992). However, despite the efforts he made for Germans to join in, Germany did not wish to participate. As a last resort, Coubertin made an appeal in the Berlin newspaper 'Sport' on June 12, 1894, but this did not work either (Boulogne 1999). The German government opposed the introduction of English sport in its educational and social systems from 1871 up to 1918 when Germany was defeated in the First World War. Germany perceived foreign cultural practices as a threat to its under-developed self-awareness and identity (Merkel 2000). Thus, the English oriented concept of amateurism found resistance in German sport circles. Additionally, Coubertin's efforts to persuade Germany annoyed the French who threatened to withdraw if the Germans did join (Hill 1992). Joseph Sansbœuf, President of the *Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique*, refused to take part if the German delegates were invited. As it finally turned out, there were no German representatives at the Congress, except Mr de Reiffenstein, Coubertin's personal friend.

The gymnastic clubs also created problems because they argued that 'gymnastics' and 'sport' were one and the same, and thus Belgian gymnasts refused to join (May 15, 1894) (Boulogne 1999). Notwithstanding the problems, approximately 2,000

members of the aristocracy and bourgeois class participated, but Müller (1994) argues, "apart from the ten members of the Organising Committee, only 37 sport federations were represented by altogether 78 delegates in Paris. Among them were 58 Frenchmen from 24 sports organisations and clubs", and he emphasises that "foreign participation was limited to 20 delegates from eight countries" (p.29). The Cycling Association was the only international sports federation at the Congress.

The programme adopted by the USFSA included eight Articles, six on Amateurism, one on betting and the last on the possibility of re-establishing the Olympic Games (Hill 1992). However, there is a suggestion that Coubertin misled the delegates of the Congress because he informed them at the last minute that the issue of the revival of the Games would also be discussed (Young 1984; cited in Hill 1992: 19). As a result of the Congress, it was decided that the Games should be held every four years and that an International Olympic Committee (IOC) should be established, having full responsibility for preparing and restoring the Olympic Games (Müller 1994). The Congress decided that the members of the International Olympic Committee were to be representatives overseas of Olympism rather than their countries' representatives on the committee. In addition, each country was to establish a NOC (Hill 1992) and the Presidency of the Committee would rotate, passing after each Games to the country which was chosen to host the next Olympics (Hill 1992). The first President was Vikelas, a Greek literary historian, the first Olympic Games would be held in Greece. However, after the end of Vikelas' presidency, Coubertin remained the President for twenty-five years (Hill 1992).

In July 1894, the first Bulletin of the *International Committee for the Olympic Games* was published, the only available document about the election of the International Committee (Müller 1994). Coubertin determined the composition of the governing body and this raised later questions about the democratic nature of the organisation (Brohm 1978; Gruneau 1984; Guttmann 1992; Simson and Jennings 1992). It is noteworthy that most of the members had not even participated in the 1894 Congress; they had only been listed as honorary members of the Congress (Müller 1994). Coubertin has remarked: "I was allowed a free hand in the choice of

members of the IOC. Those proposed were selected without any amendment”¹ (Coubertin 1979; cited in Müller 1994: 36). The fact that, the members of the IOC were expected to pay their travel expenses and to contribute financially to the costs of the IOC for promoting Olympism, meant that such an organisation could only function if its members were wealthy and had free time for IOC work (Toohey and Veal 2000). Consequently, wealth and social status, combined with enthusiasm for the rebirth of the Games, were the criteria for choosing the members (Guttman 1992). The first thirteen members of the Committee were from the leisured classes: the upper and upper-middle classes, the military aristocracy, wealthy tradesmen and diplomats, the so-called ‘haute bourgeoisie’ (Boulogne 1999).

Coubertin had planned the first Olympics to be held in Paris in 1900 as part of the World Fair, but Krüger (1999) argues that the Greeks had come to Paris to claim the International Olympic Games as theirs. Finally, a compromise was reached when it was decided that the first Olympic Games should be in Athens in 1896 and the second in Paris in 1900. However, the choice of Athens was unfortunate, as, after a decade of extreme instability from 1869 since 1879, Greece was politically and financially weak (Lucas 1981; Toohey and Veal 2000). For these reasons, the government opposed hosting the event, and the Greek Etienne Dragoumis, a member of the Zappeion Commission, suggested that the Athens Games should be held in 1900, the beginning of a new century and the year of organising the World Exhibition in Paris (Hill 1992). Finally, after several negotiations the Games were held in Athens, although it is argued that are best remembered for the fact that they took place, as sport results were relatively poor by international standards (Krüger 1999).

The Olympic Games in Paris 1900, St. Louis 1904 and London 1908 were held either within or in support of an international expo event (the international world fair) (Roche 2000). Coubertin’s love of expos and the lack of a clear French sport identity were mainly the reasons for the association of the Olympics with the international

¹ The first bulletin of the IOC contained the following list of IOC members: Bikelas- or sometimes spelled Vikelas- (Greece, President), Coubertin (Secretary General), Callot (France, Treasurer), Boutovski (Russia), Guth (Bohemia), Balck (Sweden), Cuff (Australasia), Sloane (USA), Zubiatur (Argentina), Lucchesi-Palli (Italy), Herbert (England), Ampthill (England) and Kémény (Hungary). In the second bulletin of the IOC dated October 1894, the list had been modified. Count Lucchesi-Palli from Italy had been replaced by his compatriot Count Andria Garafa because he was too busy with his diplomatic tasks (Boulogne, 1994), and Count Bousies from Belgium had been added.

world fair. The USFSA, of which Coubertin was Secretary General, opposed his plans and the French government was not enthusiastic about the Olympics in Paris (Guttmann 1992). Therefore, he wanted to ensure that the 1900 Olympics would be staged within the context of the *Exposition Universelle*, and thus hopefully within the international public eye. However, the planners of the exposition were not at all eager to be the hosts of the Games (Guttmann 1992). The director of the Expo, Alfred Picard, who disliked sport, placed the Olympic Games as a marginal cultural activity. Coubertin tried unsuccessfully to gain control but with no luck. As a result, the whole programme was stretched out over the full five months of the Expo itself (Roche 2000). In 1904, the Olympic Games were held in St. Louis, after negotiations between Chicago and St. Louis about which city would finally host the event. In 1901 the IOC formally considered bids from Chicago and St. Louis and decided in favour of Chicago. The great American international expo was scheduled for 1903, so there would be no clash of events. However, the St. Louis event was postponed for 1904 due to delays and, therefore, the Chicago committee asked the IOC to transfer the staging of the Olympics to 1905. The situation became more difficult when the St. Louis group pressurised the IOC by suggesting that they would organise an alternative major athletics event if they did not host the Games in 1904. Finally, the IOC asked the US President Theodore Roosevelt to decide and he chose St. Louis. This caused much embarrassment to Coubertin who had promised the Olympics to Chicago and he chose to boycott his own Games deciding instead to attend the annual dramatic festival of Wagner's music at Bayreuth in Germany.

The 1904 Games had a strong nationalistic, American character with only a few Europeans participating. The biggest absentee was Britain, considered one of the world's strongest athletic nations, because the athletics authorities claimed they could not cover the costs of sending a team (Roche 2000). The Americans used the Olympic Games and the status of modern sport as a sign of 'civilisation' and 'progress' and organised two 'anthropology days', in which various 'primitive' non-western peoples were taught and practised western sports. Their relatively poor performances, in sports with which they were not familiar, came as a confirmation of the theory of white superiority (Goksoyr 1991; cited in Krüger 1999: 8).

After the Games in St. Louis, the Olympic Movement faced a major crisis and some argued that 'it was close to disaster' (Guttmann 1992: 27). The situation became

more difficult when Rome withdrew from hosting the Games in 1906 and the IOC turned to Britain for assistance. The British Olympic Association (BOA) had just been created (in 1905), but the British agreed to host the Games in London in 1908. Krüger (1999) argues, "the first modern Olympics in our sense of the word are the ones of 1908 in London" (p. 9), with the English Amateur Athletics Association (AAA) supporting to a great extent the organisation of the event. Additionally, the Games were organised with the support of the financiers of the Franco-British exhibition that was held in London the same year. The expo organisers needed a venue for the purposes of the exhibition, and thus agreed to build a stadium that would also accommodate the Olympics. The spectator numbers were initially low, but nationalistic conflicts between the British and American athletes about the rules attracted the interest of the press and increased publicity (Krüger 1999; Roche 2000). Despite the successful collaboration between the expo organisers and the Olympic group in 1908, the two previous 'problematic' cases of Paris and St. Louis were critical in the de-coupling of the Olympic Games from the expos (Roche 2000).

In the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, the IOC and the sports federations were involved in assuring a unification of standards, rules and by-laws, undermining the local organisers. However, they wished to ensure that the arguments from the London Games between the Americans and the English would not be repeated in Sweden. Coubertin also wanted to ensure that the Olympic Games would be held along the lines of the Olympic philosophy for the 'joyous overflow of manly vigour' and not under the Swedish Gymnastics philosophy of health and equilibrium of strength. With his motto *mens fervida in corpore lacertoso* (an overflowing mind in a muscular body), he wanted to emphasise the differences from the *mens sana in corpore sano* of the medical profession (Krüger 1999). The IOC, starting slowly to accept women's sports, they decided to include women as swimmers and divers. This meant an increase in the number of female athletes from 36 in 1908 to 57 in 1912 (compared to 2,447 men) (Guttman 1992). In terms of racial inclusion, Guttman (1992) emphasises, "the irrelevance of skin colour was emphasised by the racial composition of the American team, which included an Afro-American, a Hawaiian and two American Indians" (p. 33). The inclusion of women and the racial inclusion of the American team could be regarded as signs of gradual democratisation (Guttman 1992).

In these Games, the Swedes were placed first in the list of medals and the British were so embarrassed that measures were taken to improve their performance in 1916 (Krüger 1999). The *Spectator* claimed in its July 20 issue that specialisation “has gone too far in America...for many months, sometimes even for years, Americans subject themselves to a professional trainer who takes possession of their lives” (cited in Guttmann 1992: 35). The British press made racist references, complaining about the Negroes and Indians who had competed for the United States (Guttmann 1992). The Swedish were desperate to win for a number of reasons; their king was present in the stadium, they wanted to demonstrate scientific superiority of their gymnastics system, and they had received money from a special lottery to build the stadium. Krüger (1999) argues that the Swedes can be considered the ones who invented the state amateur, recruiting athletes from the army in their national teams. Nevertheless, the Swedish were accepted as amateurs, but the American Indian Jim Thorpe was stripped of his medals, after admitting that he had been paid to play summer professional baseball while still a student at the Carlisle (Pennsylvania) Indian school (Strenk 1981; Guttmann 1992). Guttmann (1992) argues that, since the IOC later punished other athletes whose amateur status was questionable, Thorpe’s punishment did not indicate racism but prejudice about social class.

Although the Olympic Movement was carrying the message of universalism, peace, equity and human rights, the exclusionary values of the movement were evident. Roche (2000) argues that the Games, similar to other expos of this period, were related to classism, racism and sexism: women, working class citizens, and colonies or ethnic groups, were not allowed or were unable to participate.

Like the Olympics, expos claimed to promote universalistic and humanistic ideals and world-views as well as internationalist and nationalistic ones. They thus appeared to promote notions of identity and inclusion in nation, the international order and the human race. However, in practice these were mainly aimed at a symbolic cultural inclusion of the white male working class who were, on the one hand, being politically empowered by gaining the new powers to vote and to organise trade unions, and other hand, were facing the rigours of work and work discipline in rapidly changing, harsh and debilitating industrial and urban environments (Roche 2000: 73).

The nineteenth-century expo movement was a product of nation-building and economy-building in modernising western societies, and in principle it was positive, heading towards cultural inclusion, peaceful co-existence and representation of different nations (Roche 2000). However, athletes and those from colonised ‘nations’

were often excluded or only included as representatives of the colonial power; the working class was excluded from the British version of sport and the ideology of amateurism; women were excluded by means of 'pseudo-scientific theories of feminine physical vulnerability'; and blacks and Asians were excluded for reasons of imperialism and racial inferiority (Roche 2000: 72). At the beginning of the twentieth century, these exclusions diffused internationally with the expansion of the western sport culture. European colonial power increased, and the world had become interdependent politically and economically. Notions of civilisation were associated with a western civilisation that was expanding overseas. Europeans controlled 35 percent of the earth's landmass in 1800, 67 percent in 1878, and 84 percent in 1914 (Huntington 1996). The exclusivist character of the Olympic Movement was challenged after the First World War and throughout the inter-war period in several ways that are discussed next.

3.5 Late Imperialism: The Inter-War Period 1914-1944

By the summer of 1914, many people were expecting with enthusiasm the Olympic Games of the Sixth Olympiad in Berlin, but economic and political conflicts, nationalism, and many crises eventually led to the outbreak of the Great War (1914-1918) (Guttman 1992). As part of the political consequences of the war, the old empires collapsed and new states were created, mostly in Eastern Europe. Czar Nicolas II of Russia fell in 1917 (Russian October 1917 Revolution), and Kaiser Wilhem II of Germany and the Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary left their thrones in 1918. The Ottoman Empire was divided and placed under the control of France and Britain (Culpin 2000). Economically, the war brought 'economic depression' in Europe in the late 1920s and 1930s, increasing mass unemployment and poverty. The distinctions between the social classes were diminishing, as the upper class and the elites eventually lost their power and privileges. The 'democratic' countries weakened and extremist political parties emerged, promising to improve the current bad economy. In Germany, the National Socialist (Nazi) Party was strengthened, and in UK both the Communist Party and the British Union of Fascists gained popularity (Culpin 2000).

In this heavy atmosphere of global political and economic disorder, the 1916 Olympics were cancelled, whereas the prospects of hosting the Olympic Games in 1920 did not seem promising. During the war, Coubertin moved the Olympic headquarters to neutral Switzerland (April 10, 1915), in order to safeguard the Olympic Movement from conflicting interests (Guttman 1992; Krüger 1999). It was difficult for the IOC to stage the Olympic Games of 1920, as the situation in most countries had been dreadful. Krüger (1999) argues that if there had not been successful Inter-Allied Games in Paris in 1919 under the American General Pershing, "the IOC would not have dared stage the Olympic Games so shortly after the war" (p. 11). Since the German invasion of Belgium had been the cause that brought Britain into the war, the IOC decided that it is symbolically important for the first post-war Games to be staged in Antwerp (Guttman 1992), "a symbolic revival of the Olympic Movement and its message from out of the killing fields of Flanders" (Roche 2000: 104). The symbolism of the Games for the pacification of the global community was shown through new rituals, namely the five rings flag, the symbolic release of doves of peace, and the athletes' oath (Roche 2000). Although Germany, Austria and its allies were excluded, the Games were very successful (Krüger 1999) and the main organiser, Henri Baillet-Latour, emerged from the scene as a capable successor for the IOC presidency (Boulogne 1999).

After the First World War, the international community called for international peace and cultural exchange, demonstrating increased popular awareness for changing the disorganised character of nineteenth century and improving pre-war international relations (Roche 2000). The establishment of the League of Nations was part of an effort to provide a more secure environment for the global community, institutionalising forms of international communication and cooperation. In this period the IOC was interested in associating itself with the League of Nations, making the movement's own international institution-building process appear compatible with wider processes of international institution-building (Roche 2000). The values of universalism and humanism, though undermined by the IOC's practices, reinforced such association and helped the movement to establish itself in the interwar period as the primary authority and actor concerned with international sport (Roche 2000). Nonetheless, socialist and women's sport movements emerged and staged their independent sport events, challenging the authority of the IOC and pressurising for some reform and change.

3.5.1 Alternative Games: Socialist and Women's Olympics

In various European countries, particularly Germany and states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, strong socialist, social democratic and workers' movements established large sport organisations on a national basis (Riordan 1999; Roche 2000). In the period after the war, European socialists allied and established an international socialist sport organisation (1920), which was renamed the 'Socialist Workers Sport International' (SWSI). Its emphasis was on mass participation and non-competitive sport, calling for a link between sport and wider political and cultural activities (Roche 2000). In the interwar period, socialist movements were opposed to the elitism of the Olympic Movement, which tended to make sport exclusive and inaccessible for working-class athletes.

Therefore, sport movements of the political Left staged sport festivals as alternative to the bourgeois Olympics. SWSI's political profile was reformist and not revolutionary, thus it banned its members from participating in the Soviet Spartakiads, a series of large-scale worker's Olympic type events organised by the revolutionary Red Sport International (RSI) organisation. The main events that the SWSI organised were the Workers Olympics in Frankfurt in 1925, in Vienna in 1931, and in Antwerp in 1937. As a counter to both the socialist games of SWSI and to the bourgeois Olympics, the Soviet communist sports movement staged the Worker Spartakiads. The First Worker Spartakiad was launched on 12 August 1928 by a parade of 30,000 men and women, marching through Moscow's Red Square to the Dinamo Stadium. Despite the boycott by both socialist and bourgeois sport associations, 600 worker athletes from fourteen countries were said to have taken part (Riordan 1999). Due to the increasing popularity of the socialist movements, the capitalist governments mobilised and acted against them. When communist workers attempted to stage a Second Spartakiad in Berlin in 1932, all Soviet and some other athletes were refused visas to enter Germany and then, when they finally managed to reach Berlin, the games were banned (Riordan 1999). The last Spartakiad Games, prior to the Second World War, were organised in Moscow in 1932, in opposition to the Olympic Games in Los Angeles in the same year (Roche 2000).

The Olympic Games were also being opposed by women's movements, for the sexist prejudices against female physical capability in sport. Women were not seen as the

equal partners of male athletes, and thus were banned from the inaugural Olympics in Athens in 1896 and performed in a few unofficial exhibition events in the expo-related Olympics of 1900, 1904 and 1908 (Roche 2000). It is important to underline that, during this pre-war period, women in many western countries were given the right to vote, as part of a more active involvement in political life and public culture. In theory, sport offered a sphere of cultural liberation for women who had been oppressed by the restricting Victorian dress code and 'body culture' (Roche 2000). Nonetheless, the IOC, in contrast to the idealistic claims of their Olympic values, was profoundly sexist, formally banning women from participation in the Olympics in 1912 (Hargreaves 1994). Women's response to this exclusionary attitude was similar to that of working class and socialist organisations discussed earlier, namely they formed their own international association.

A number of European women competed in 1921 in the international *Jeux Féminins* sponsored by the sportsmen of the principality of Monaco, which were repeated in 1922 with a great success (Guttman 1992). In 1921, Alice Miliat, an active member of one of France's upper-class sport clubs (*Fémina Sport*), established the *Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale* (FSFI) (October 31, 1921). Less than a year later, the FSFI staged their first Olympic-type international sport event in 1922 in Paris, although they changed the title of the games from *Women's Olympics* to *Women's World Games* after the IOC's objections to the word 'Olympic' in the title (Roche 2000; Guttman 1992). In the same year (1922), the Women's Amateur Athletics Association (WAAA) was founded in Britain. The FSFI World Games were well organised, held every four years, and acted as effective practical publicity for the cause of women's sport internationally (Hargreaves 1994). The main FSFI World Games were staged in Gothenberg in 1926, in Prague in 1930, in London in 1934, and although they were planned for Vienna in 1938, they were cancelled after the Nazi invasion (Roche 2000).

3.5.2 Authoritarian Regimes: Supernationalism and the Nazi Olympics

In many European societies in the period 1936-1940 there was support for authoritarian regimes that were promising to solve the difficult economic problems. During this period, both the Soviet communists and the Nazis gained more power and involved themselves in cultural politics, using the mass theatre of festivals, rituals and various forms of populist 'physical culture' as a means of propaganda. Although in different ways, both promoted mass gymnastics and claimed that people should develop a 'body culture' concerned with fitness, open-air activity and work, and dedicated to the creation of the new Nazi or Soviet 'man' (Hoberman 1984). On the one hand, they were critical of the elitist and exclusionary character of modern sport that the Olympic Movement was promoting. On the other hand, they were also critical of the growth of professionalised and commercialised forms of sport among the working class, with its 'superficial sensationalism' for spectators, and of the 'rationalistic rule-dominated' type of modern sport (Roche 2000: 103). Therefore, they called for forms of physical culture that, counter to elitist sport, were populist and inclusionary, and, in contrast to spectator sport, were participatory and associated with wider cultural traditions (Roche 2000).

The Soviets, as a counterbalance to the revival of 'bourgeois cultural internationalism', staged several, large-scale, cultural and sport events. For instance, a special mass performance of the Bolshevik invasion in the Winter Palace in 1917 was held in Leningrad to celebrate the third anniversary of the Revolution. Additionally, two major sport events were staged; first a mass sport and gymnastic display in the new Red Stadium in Moscow, involving 18,000 athletes, in order to impress the visiting international delegates at the congress of the Third International; second, the first Central Asian Games in Tashkent, which involved 3,000 athletes, as a symbolic support to the new Central Asian soviet republics. Moreover, as discussed above, they also organised their own sport festivals ('Spartakiads'), which have been described as "ritualised Marxist demonstrations against the hypocrisy of the bourgeois Olympics" (Jones 1988; cited in Roche 2000: 105).

The Soviets and the Nazis saw the staging of large-scale international sports events as significant resources for conducting foreign policy and international propaganda

(Roche 2000). This is particularly evident in the case of the Nazis, who used the 1936 Berlin Olympics in order to project their image and increase the influence of their ideology internationally. These Games are remembered for the impressive character of their staging, the excellent performance of the black American athlete Jesse Owens, and also for the classic film 'Olympia' made by a controversial figure, the German cinematographer and fascist Leni Reifenstahl. However, they are best remembered for the controversies and political interests of the German organisers. Germany was re-admitted to the Olympics in 1928 and in 1930, at the Olympic congress in Berlin, the Germans suggested that the next Olympics should be held in Berlin (Guttman 1992). At the twenty-ninth IOC session in Barcelona (April 1931), the German organisers successfully convinced the IOC and officially started preparations for the 1936 Berlin Olympics. When the IOC's decision was announced (May 13, 1931), Henning Brüning was Germany's chancellor and an unstable coalition was in power (Weimar Republic). However, by the time the Games were actually held, the National Socialists were in power and Adolf Hitler was chancellor (Guttman 1992).

Although Hitler was originally opposed to the idea of Germany hosting the Games, he understood later that staging such an international event would provide an excellent opportunity to project Nazi propaganda to the entire world (Toohey and Veal 2000). Guttman (1992) argues that the early hesitation derived from the 'problem' that modern sport had developed in England rather than in Germany and thus it was, at least in principle, universalistic rather than particularistic. Among the most important characteristics of modern sport, in theory, was equality and claims that race, religion or ideology should not determine athletic excellence. Nonetheless, such a view could not be officially embraced by the Nazis, whose domestic political agenda included the removal of Jews from all positions of power and influence, including also the removal of world-class athletes from sports clubs and associations (Toohey and Veal 2000; Guttman 1992).

Hitler and the Nazis were as critical of 'bourgeois' forms of culture as were the Bolsheviks, "with the added power of their hypernationalism and racist paranoia against all things non-German" (Roche 2000: 116). However, after representations by Theodore Lewald and Carl Diem, leading figures in the German Sport Commission and the Olympic Movement, he became enthusiastic about it and invested priority

funding to it. Goebbels and his Ministry of Propaganda were given overall responsibility for the project and he also assigned responsibilities to distinguished personalities such as the architect Albert Speer and the film-maker Leni Reifenstahl, respectively for the architecture of the stadium and for filming the event.

In the early years of Hitler's dictatorship, 1933-36, the Nazi party established an absolute ideological and cultural hegemony in Germany, gaining popularity and attracting the majority of the German people. Hitler's vision included Germany's 'civilising mission' in relation to Europe, mostly inspired by the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century German intellectuals who admired Hellenic civilisation. In these early years of Nazi state-building, the Olympic project allowed the Nazis to appeal to a number of different constituencies (Roche 2000). Among the working-class citizens, the spectacular and competitive character of the mega-event could be popular. Among the German upper and middle class circles, the event's high cultural origins and Hellenic connections resonated with their classicism. Roche (2000) argues that German Hellenism, through the major achievements and discoveries of its archaeologists in the late nineteenth century, had been an important theme of the Paris Expo of 1889, influencing Coubertin to revive the Olympic Games in the 1890s. Finally, the Olympic event would appeal to both classes through its ritual, theatrical elements that were found in populist and Wagnerian 'high' culture of German tradition (Roche 2000).

Thus, the Olympic event could increase Nazi's publicity, giving Hitler access to 'a symbolic discourse', which was prestigious and influential internationally, and in which the ideological and political meanings of Nazism could be propagated (Roche 2000). These underlying interests were evident to many people inside and outside the Olympic Movement, and, in response to the German policy, an international boycott of Nazi goods and services was organised, as well as a proposal for transferring the Games to a different site (Roche 2000; Toohey and Veal 2000). This movement fell short, when the IOC announced its faith in Berlin for hosting the Games. However, it had succeeded in exercising pressure on the IOC, and thus the president, Count-Baillet Latour, demanded guarantees from the Nazis that they would abide by the Olympic rules and would reassure the IOC that there would be no discrimination against athletes on the grounds of race or religion (Guttman 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). There were debates in the USA about the possibility of a

boycott. George Messersmith, USA Secretary of State, arguing against US involvement in Berlin Olympics, declared (November 1935),

To the party and the youth of Germany, the holding of the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936 has become the symbol of the conquest of the world by National Socialist doctrine. Should the Games not be held in Berlin, it would be one of the most serious blows which National Socialist prestige could suffer (Quoted by Roche 2000: 119).

However, after the involvement of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU, the principal sports federation in the United States) and several 'controversial' negotiations between its president Avery Brundage and the Germans, most criticisms from the American side were muted. Interestingly, it was not a secret that the German team did not include any Jews. In all twenty-one German Jews from the Makkabi and Schild organisations nominated as candidates for the team and were invited to a training camp. None was selected (Guttman 1992).

For this collaboration with the Nazis, the IOC has been subject to many criticisms, predominantly for allowing a major Nazi propaganda project to be staged, not only by refusing to acknowledge and denounce Nazi sport policies, but also by resisting the boycotts. The British sport journalist and historian John Rodda argues that the IOC was "completely insulated from political events within Germany and the strong overtones produced at the Berlin Games" (Killanin and Rodda 1976; quoted by Roche 2000: 119). Hoberman (1984) regards this period of the Olympic Movement as one of at best fascist collaboration or at worst one of ideological domination by fascism. Additionally, Lucas (1980) also questioned the nature of the Olympic Movement in this period, not being able to understand many of the 'bizarre' decisions that were taken (p. 135).

The role of Carl Diem

The nineteenth-century German nationalist movement was associated with mass festivals and rituals, and particularly with popular 'physical culture' movements such as the Turnen gymnastics associations. The connection between nationalism and mega-events continued even after the unification of Germany in 1870 and the Bismarck era in the newly established German state. However, German traditional sport was challenged by the increasing popularity of English competitive sport,

French Olympic internationalism and the growth of German sports clubs of trade-union movements (Roche 2000). This resulted in the foundation of a German state commission for festivals and for sport (Guttman 1994), which, despite the resistance from the gymnastic clubs, was responsible for promoting sport in the educational system (Roche 2000). Carl Diem, a sport historian, was involved with the national German sport commission and the Olympic Movement. From his post as a chairman of the national sport commission from 1910 to 1933, he advocated the German sport movement, in preference to his country's 'archaic' Turner Sport Movement (Mandell 1974; Guttman 1992; Roche 2000; Paton and Barney 2002), but also worked for a unification of these two extreme positions (Haag 1982).

Throughout his life he travelled widely and was active in teaching and sport administration, establishing two schools of physical education: the one which opened in Berlin in 1920 and its post-war successor in Cologne which opened in 1947. He offered consultancy services on Olympic matters to several European nations (Paton and Barney 2002; Mandell 1974), and he was the initiator and partial sponsor of the German excavations at Olympia, which were re-started in 1937 (Mandell 1974). Around the time of the 1912 Stockholm Games the IOC decided to give the 1916 Games to Berlin and the building of the Olympic stadium in Berlin (*Kaiserstadion*), using mainly private rather than public finance, was built under Diem's supervision and guidance (Haag 1982). However, the war and the resentment of victors kept Germany out of the Olympic Movement for nearly a generation (Roche 2000). Carl Diem, together with Theodore Lewald, also a member of the German state Sport Commission and of the IOC, remained leading figures in German sport and the Olympic Movement, keeping the case of Berlin open for a future bid after the successful re-appearance of Germany at the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928. The apex of Diem's Olympic career was his involvement in the organisation of the 1936 Berlin Olympics (Mandell 1974; Haag 1982; Paton and Barney 2002).

Diem and Lewald were not very optimistic about Hitler's support for the Olympic project, but after their meeting with him on March 16, 1933, Hitler expressed his tentative approval (Guttman 1992). Carl Diem was the chief organiser and general secretary of the Games, initiating many new ideas in the realisation of the Games. For the first time, the notion of the Olympic Village was conceived, bringing most facilities together, a theatre (*Waldbühne*) was also added to emphasise the cultural

character of the Games, and a bell tower with a bell calling the youth of the world (*Ich ruf die Jugend der Welt*) was built (Haag 1982). Carl Diem also invited thirty students of physical education from every participating country to a youth camp during the Games, and these performed gymnastic displays (Haag 1982). However, Carl Diem's biggest innovation at the Berlin Games was to add to the modern Olympic ceremony a highly symbolic connection between the modern Olympic event site and the ancient site of Olympia by organising a torch relay from Olympia. This represented Diem's connections of sport with Hellenic idealism, but in the Nazi context of 1936, it raises suspicions. Roche (2000) argues that:

In this new Nazi context of the mid-1930s it [i.e. the torch relay] inevitably carried with it some shadowy and suspect connotations and implications. Olympia had been used by ancient Greek cultures for their sacred games event for around a thousand years. It was a permanent site for what could be conceived of as having been a 'thousand year civilisation'. (Roche 2000: 117)

The idea of the 'thousand year' civilisation through the Olympic project and the connotations of the torch relay was reminiscent of Hitler's vision for the 'Thousand Year Reich'. Diem's role in the organisation of Berlin Olympics in 1936 has raised many questions, concerning his contribution to Nazi propaganda, even if he never joined the National Socialist Party (Guttmann 1992). Mandell (1974: 11) argues,

Diem's triumphs and the resultant applause and other rewards he received in the first years of Adolf Hitler's Reich seem to have led him into an apparent personality transformation. He tended to see the Nazis as respectable heirs to the grand traditions of German culture. His rhetoric picked up the pseudo-Nietzschian enthusiasm favoured by the official propagandists. In fact, one might believe from much of Diem's writing in the period 1937-1941 that his plans for sport had always been paramilitary, super-patriotic and totalitarian.

There is no evidence that Diem, whose wife was known to have a Jewish ancestor, was an anti-Semite. Due to this fact, but also because his university *Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen* had appointed several Jews in its faculty, Diem was condemned in the Nazi press as a 'white Jew' (Hoberman 1986; Guttmann 1992). It is worth noting that in 1927 he published a list of German intellectuals, including known Jewish poets (Hoberman 1986). However, in many of his writings, he has shown evidence of racism, influenced by the right-wing ideology of the 'Volk', which by the 1920s had achieved widespread respectability within the Republic (Hoberman 1986). In Diem's defence, Paton and Barney (2002) argue that, even if his role has been controversial, differences from Hitler's Nazi supporters were evident, on the

basis of his education, cosmopolitanism and enlightenment. More insights about Diem's role in the Olympic Movement and his interpretation of the Olympic values are discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

3.5.3 Colonialism, Regional Games and the Olympic Movement

The late nineteenth century English ideology of Athleticism (also referred to as *The Games Cult* or *Games Ethic*) influenced to a great extent the English public schools, and eventually wider society in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. The ideology spread, almost simultaneously, throughout the British Empire, especially after 1850 and with the increasing popularity of Muscular Christianity, the public schools prepared their pupils for imperial roles in the Neo-imperial expansion of the late nineteenth century. Sandiford (1994) argues, "The Victorians were determined to civilise the rest of the world, and an integral feature of that process, as they understood it, was to disseminate the gospel of athleticism which had triumphed so spectacularly at home in the third quarter of the nineteenth century" (quoted by Mangan and Hickey 2001: 106).

The internationalisation of 'Anglo-Saxon' sport by exporting games, namely cricket, rugby, athletics and squash, to their colonies was done initially on a completely elitist and exclusionary basis. The British colonial administrators and traders of middle and upper middle classes needed these games as means of entertainment and communication among themselves (Roche 2000). Interestingly, in the 'white' self-governing dominions of Australia and New Zealand, cricket and rugby became 'national' games through which people developed their identity (always in relation to the mother country), whereas in the Black and Asian colonies of the West Indies and India, cricket and other sports were initially practised only by native ethnic elites. Guttmann (1994) argues that sport practice, especially in African and Asian colonies, was used as tool of social control and reproduction of imperial hegemony. Therefore, the classism, sexism and racism of nineteenth British sport culture were reproduced around the world through the colonies.

France also used sport as part of its imperialistic practices to assimilate the local population into the citizenship of the motherland. 'Metropolitan France' wanted the

indigenous populations to practice modern sport and compete as 'French' maximising the potential for acquiring national cohesion (Darby 2000). Coubertin believed that French imperialism in Africa represented a 'sacred civilising mission', and he appreciated the efforts of the colonial powers to help in the development of the colonies:

They [i.e. colonies] are like children: it is relatively easy to bring them into the world; the difficult thing is to raise them properly. They do not grow by themselves, but need to be taken care of, coddled, and pampered by the mother country; they need constant attention to incubate them, to understand their needs, to foresee their disappointments, to calm their fears (Coubertin 1902; quoted by Hoberman 1986: 39)

Due to such overt paternalistic references, it is suggested that the IOC's attitudes to race and ethnicity were closer to those of British and French imperial paternalism than to any real humanism (Roche 2000). Moreover, it is argued that in the 1930s even the profoundly imperialistic British Empire Games (later re-named as the *Commonwealth Games*) was "probably a more inclusionary international event in relation to non-European 'racial' and ethnic groups than was the Olympics" (Roche 2000: 110).

Coubertin was always keen for collaboration with the colonial powers; when King Leopold of Belgium asked Coubertin to design the programme for a 'colonial preparatory school', he was more than happy to provide his services, although this project was finally cancelled. In 1912, Coubertin published an article, in which he gave advice to colonial regimes on how they could use sport as a tool of administration. He wanted to encourage them to spread sport among the colonised without fearing that victory by local groups could lead to rebellion (Hoberman 1986). However, the biggest link of the Olympic Movement with the colonial societies was achieved through the establishment of Regional Games. In the IOC Session in Paris (1922), there were several discussions about initiating Latin American Games, which General Charles Sherill, an American member of the IOC, supported with the condition that they should be controlled by the Roman Catholics (however it was not until 1951 that the Pan-American Games were inaugurated). DaCosta (2002) emphasises that a conflict between the interests of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the IOC in the development of South American sport did not allow Coubertin to develop action plans in this area. The following year, when the

IOC met in Rome (spring 1923), they turned their attention to Africa and invited French and Italian colonial officials to discuss the staging of Regional Games under the IOC patronage and sponsorship. It was decided that the IOC should support the African Games (*Jeux Africaines*) for non-Europeans, starting in Algiers in 1925 (Guttman 1992). Roche (2000) argues that the IOC

...recommended a version of sport apartheid by proposing a system of two concurrent biennial events, one of European colonisers and one for colonised 'natives'. However, this was one set of games too many for the colonisers and their lack of support made it ultimately impossible to arrange this event. (p. 110)

The African Games were subsequently postponed to 1927, and then again to 1929. They did not actually materialise until the early 1960s, which were first organised by the French government under the name *Friendship Games*. The first African Games organised by Africans themselves were organised in 1965 in Brazzaville (Guttman 1984).

In terms of participation of non-European 'racial' and ethnic groups during the inter-war period, the Japanese were successful, continuing to organise their impressive displays in expos in the same period, and 'keeping up with' their modernisation process (Roche 2000). Egypt was the first African and Arab country to join international sports competitions, participating in the Olympic Games in 1920, and qualifying for the Olympic final of soccer in 1928. There were also some notable successes by African and Arab athletes, but Guttman (1994) argues that generally this could be regarded as tokenism. The IOC held its 37th Session in Cairo (Egypt), as part of the preparations for the Olympics in Tokyo (1940) (its first ever attempt to organise the Games on non-western ground). Krüger (1999) argues that the increasing influence of authoritarian regimes over sporting practices in Europe and the political situation that preceded the Second World War were possibly the reasons for the IOC transferring its interests away from Europe.

3.6 Post War II 1945-1980s: Neo-Colonialism and Cold War

Early in the twentieth century, the economy of the United States had caught up with the economies of western European countries, reaching a high level of industrial development. Its continuous growth was a result of foreign expansion, overseas

market outlets, access to raw material resources and investments around the world. It had secured its power over Latin America since the proliferation of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, but could not do the same in Asia and Africa which were controlled by the British, French and Dutch. To increase its influence in these territories, the United States implemented the so-called 'Open Door' policy, a non-discriminating international economic system, expressing support to the colonially oppressed (Hoogvelt 2001). The war had significantly altered the pre-war world relationships. The weakened economies and industrial capacities of the European colonial powers required reassertion of control over their colonial possessions. Increased nationalism of the oppressed colonies fuelled their need for independence. The territorial property of the Third Reich was divided into spheres of control by the Allied Powers, comprising the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. The Japanese Empire, which had been built up since 1895, was dismantled and occupied, like Germany, by the Allies with primary control in the hands of the United States (Espy 1979). Among all Allied Powers at the end of the war, the Soviet Union and the United States were the most powerful and influential.

The USA, in exchange for the American lives that were sacrificed in the cause of its European allies, demanded the new international economic order be under US hegemony. This had already been agreed in the early years of the war, when the American Council of Foreign Relations had composed a Memorandum, which described the policy needs of the USA in "a world in which it proposes to hold unquestioned power" (Hoogvelt 2001: 33). As part of this policy, the USA would acquire military and economic supremacy within the non-German world. This US-led, non-German world was to be called the *Grand Area*. Much of the Grand Area plan was accomplished immediately after the end of the Second World War, when all victorious nations agreed on the need to manage the world economy, they cooperated with international institutions under the acknowledged leadership of the USA (for instance, the Bretton Woods institutions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, 1944, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, 1947) (Hoogvelt 2001). A few years later, the Truman Doctrine (1947) was initiated in which the USA formally announced its intentions to act as a global policeman, "defending free people anywhere in the world who were threatened by armed minorities or by outside pressures" (Hoogvelt 2001: 31). Western Europe

became economically dependent upon the United States and formed the *capitalist bloc*.

Although the Soviet Union had suffered remarkable human and material losses, it possessed a strong army with which it established its position at home and in Eastern Europe (Espy 1979). They seized Eastern Europe as an expression of long-standing Russian imperial ambitions, given renewed drive in relation to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of worldwide class struggle. The USSR controlled communist governments and 'confiscated' most of the countries in Eastern Europe, forming the so-called *eastern or communist bloc*. The European continent was split into two basic spheres of influence: Eastern Europe, dominated by the Soviet Union, and western Europe, dependent upon the United States both economically and militarily. The conflicting interests between the communist expansionism and US neo-imperialist policy fuelled political, economic, cultural and military rivalries between the 'capitalist', western bloc and the 'communist' eastern bloc (Espy 1979). This period is known as 'Cold War' and is usually seen as having started in 1947 with the establishment of the Truman doctrine, but some trace it back to the Russian Civil War (1918-21) and the western intervention against the Bolsheviks (Heywood 2002).

In consequence of the war, the Allies ultimately joined forces to form the United Nations (UN) at the San Francisco Conference (April-June 1945). It was an attempt to establish an organisation that would be more powerful and rigid than the League of Nations, which proved to be powerless, as Germany, Japan and Italy pursued their expansionist ambitions in the 1930s. Although there were clear interests to extend the anti-Axis alliance of the USA, USSR and the UK in the post-war period, the UN charter laid down the highest standards of international conduct for nations wishing to join the organisation (Espy 1979; Heywood 2002).

The role of the UN as a powerful organisation for economic and military co-operation among the nations was even more evident, when the Cold War was fought not only in Europe but became global. Anti-imperialist movements (e.g. pan-Arabism and pan-Africanism) in colonies accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s, and nationalist and

liberalist movements were striving for independence in the Third World¹. The Korean War (1950-53) marked the spread of the Cold War to Asia following the Chinese Revolution of 1949. During the 1960s and 1970s, international crises throughout the world, from the Middle East to Latin America and from Africa to Indo-China, were incorporated into the struggle between the USSR and the USA, which represented the broader clash between communism and capitalism. During the period of decolonisation, the UN acted as a sounding board for the independence movements and provided a forum for cooperation, although often criticised for giving more power to the core countries and the US (Tipton and Aldrich 1987).

From the late 1940s to the 1960s the influential role of US-based trans-national companies in the world economy was growing, deepening the gap between core and periphery. Hoogvelt (2001) argues that these multinational companies and international governmental organisations were used by the core as tools of controlling the peripheral areas. Despite the formal recognition of political independence of the new emerging countries, there still existed a system of neo-colonialism, neo-imperialism, as a continuation of the orthodox colonialism of the previous period. Throughout the early post-war period (until 1970) imperialist profit was maintained through direct exploitation of raw materials resources by multinational capital.

From the 1970s onwards, the bipolar nature of the Cold War became less evident, as the communist world became more fragmented (e.g. the increasing hostility between Moscow and Beijing), and the capitalist world incorporated Japan and West Germany as resurgent 'economic superpowers'. One of the consequences of this multipolarism was *détente* (relaxation of tension) between East and West. This was reflected in President Nixon's historic visit to China in 1972 and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between 1967 and 1979 (SALT I and SALT II agreements). The Cold War ended with the fall of Berlin Wall (1989), the meeting in Paris (1990) between representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the collapse of the USSR (1991) (Heywood 2002).

¹¹ For Pan-Arabism and sport see Henry *et al* (2003) *Sport, Arab Nationalism and the Pan-Arab Games*, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38:3, 295-310

3.6.1 Cold War, Opposing Ideologies and the Olympic Movement

Despite the controversy over the Nazi Olympics, the IOC did not seem concerned to exercise caution when it selected Tokyo to host the Games in 1940. Japan's aggressive foreign policy had raised international concern, especially after its invasion of Manchuria in 1931. However, the IOC members stayed firm in their decision, even when the Japanese invaded China in 1937. Guttmann (1992) argues that "In the eyes of the committee, the peaceful diffusion of Olympism to Asian shores was far more important than the ruthless expansion of the Japanese empire" (p. 73). Awarding the Games to Japan was regarded by many as an important step in IOC policy, as it was the first occasion that the Games were to be held in an Asian country (Toohey and Veal 2000). The IOC was in some doubt about the decision as late as 1938, with the Indo-Chinese war and it could not receive assurances from the Japanese Olympic Committee that the Games would be unaffected by the hostilities. Pressures came from the Chinese members that the Games should be postponed, but the IOC refused to move forward with such a decision. The Games were finally transferred to Helsinki, when the Japanese themselves decided that the Games would be too costly at a time when they needed to invest funds for military purposes (Guttmann 1992). However, in May 1940, the IOC President, Baillet-Latour, issued a statement saying that these Games would have to be cancelled because of the Second World War. Once again, international hostilities had caused the cancellation of the Games.

Just as it had affected other pre-war international organisations, the Second World War had interrupted the activities of the committee and forced it to suspend its operations during the war. In an atmosphere of world disorder and of the ruins of war, the IOC began to plan the post-war revival of the Olympic Games. It resumed its work quickly, holding meetings in London from August 21 to 24, 1945, in order to decide the site for the 1948 Olympic Games. The cities of Baltimore, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Lausanne, and London had submitted bids. The IOC favoured the cities of the United States because of their great influence in the post-war period, but for practical reasons (distance and expensive transport) they were rejected. London, which had already been chosen to host the cancelled 1944 Games, had begun the preparations for the Games before the war. The IOC, therefore, awarded the Games again to London, allowing the British to continue with their

preparations (Espy 1979). However, the choice of London as a site for these Games was controversial from the beginning, both on an international level and within Great Britain. Many considered London an unfortunate choice because of the damage the city had suffered as a consequence of German bombing during the war. The British economy was near collapse, as the country had gone from being a pre-war creditor to a post-war debtor not being able to maintain the heavy overseas commitments of its empire. Moreover, awarding the Games to London portrayed the IOC, supposedly a non-political body, as supporting the Allied Powers of the Second World War (Toohey and Veal 2000).

The IOC, between the time of site selection and the Games themselves, had to deal with various issues. In the post-war period the Soviet Army occupied most of Eastern Europe and constructed governments in those countries, which were largely controlled by the Soviet Union. Germany had been divided into zones according to the pre-arranged plans of the Allied Powers, but by July 1948 the Western Allies – the United States, Britain and France – had joined forces in Germany, in opposition to the Soviet East German zone. The result was the formation of two separate German states, the Western and Eastern, under the control of the Western Allies and the Soviet respectively. In Asia, Korea was split in half, the North controlled by the Soviet Union and the South by the United States. By July 1948 the Chinese civil war was coming to an end, with the Chinese Communists to be emerging as winners. In Southeast Asia and the Middle East the decolonisation processes were in progress; the French were striving for control over Vietnam, Indonesia was about to gain its independence from the Netherlands, and India (divided into Moslem Pakistan and Hindu India) gaining its independence from Britain. The prevailing issue in the Middle East was Palestine, the partition of which, and the subsequent declaration of the State of Israel, provoked tension and wars between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries.

The participation of the Soviet Union in the Olympic Movement was one of the many issues that the IOC had to consider in the post-war period. The Russians had not participated in the Olympic Games since 1912, showing more interest in the internal competitions of the Red Sport International (Worker's Olympiads) than the bourgeois Olympics (Riordan 1999). However, after the Second World War, the Soviet Union became interested in participating in international sport, as part of their wider

involvement in the world's political and military fields. By October 1946, they had already participated in numerous sporting events and wished to join various international sport federations. However, they made demands as conditions for their entry. They demanded that Russian should be an official language, Russian officials to be placed on the executive board, and representatives of profascistic organisations of the Franco-Spain to be expelled (Espy 1979). Brundage's assessment of Soviet intentions was expressed to Edström by quoting a letter of a colleague:

My own guess is that the real object of the Russians is to humiliate the West...every time they force a Federation to break its own rules in order to let them compete, Russian prestige is increased and western prestige is decreased. The trouble at the moment...is that about half countries don't want to annoy Russia, and any country, which is anxious to obtain a World Championship or a World Congress, is reluctant to annoy the Eastern bloc. (Espy 1979: 28)

The issue of Soviet participation was easily solved when the Soviets failed to form a NOC and under the IOC charter this meant that they were ineligible to participate. Similarly, the issue of recognising Germany and Japan did not pose a problem since no NOCs had been formed in these countries. The recognition of Palestine, however, did pose a serious problem, as the Arab countries threatened to withdraw if the new State of Israel were to take part under the Zionist flag. As an article of the New York Times indicated (24 July, 1948), "in Egypt's opinion, admission of the Israeli team would imply partial recognition of the Jewish state" (cited in Espy 1979: 29). The general issue of recognition was to play an important role in the future. Espy (1979) expresses it thus:

The IOC, by recognising a country's committee or by recognising a certain name, in effect was conferring political recognition although the IOC had not formal diplomatic status. An Olympic participant was competing in the name of his country by virtue of his affiliation with the national committee, which in turn was affiliated with the IOC. The Olympic Games, grand and world-renowned, were providing a superb forum for the countries of the world. Each country that participated thereby received de facto recognition, even though formal affiliation was not with the state apparatus. (Espy 1979: 29)

The formative years of the post-war Olympics were also the formative years of the post-war world. The increasing tension between the capitalist and Eastern blocs reflected in the concerns of the IOC to invite the Soviets in the Olympic Games.

The process of decolonisation, producing new patterns and establishing new relationships, troubled the Olympic Movement in the post-war period. In 1948 this was reflected in the context of Palestine issue. In the 1952 Olympic Games, which were awarded to Helsinki as compensation for the cancelled 1940 Games, its tension was mainly illustrated in the recognition of the two Germanies and two Chinas. Before the Second World War, Germany had one NOC, however, because of the post-war division of the country, committees were formed in both East and West Germany. Consequently, each approached the IOC for recognition, but, according to the IOC regulations, there could not be two committees for the same country. The present composition of the West German committee was the same as that of the former, pre-war German committee but the IOC thought that this would cause trouble to grant full recognition at that time. Thus, the IOC granted provisional recognition to the West German Committee, calling the Germans to attempt to form a single team. The East Germans, who were insisting on two separate committees, refused to take part in the 1952 Games (Espy 1979; Hill 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000).

In parallel to the recognition problem with the Germans was the question of whether to recognise Communist China or Nationalist China. China asked that Taiwan (often referred to as *Formosa*) should not be recognised as an independent country (Hill 1992). The IOC refused the People's Republic of China's request and as a result it withdrew from the Games in 1952 and only rejoined the movement in 1980 in the Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games. In 1959 the IOC agreed that the Taiwan committee could not continue under its present name, since it did not administer sport on the mainland. This decision was misunderstood by the press, which assumed that Taiwan had been expelled. In 1960, it was suggested in the IOC that since Taiwan was recognised by the United Nations as the Republic of China, its committee should also be called *Olympic Committee of the Republic of China*. This was accepted by the IOC but not for the Olympics in Rome (1960), where the team paraded as Formosa but expressed its dissatisfaction carrying a board 'under protest'. In 1968 the name Olympic Committee of the Republic of China was officially recognised by the IOC (Hill 1992). With regard to the problem of the two Chinas, the IOC has been criticised for its failure to recognise that sport was no longer divorced from politics, refusing to acknowledge a potentially explosive situation (Espy 1979).

The IOC's 'non-political' policy was criticised in the Olympic Games of 1956, when it failed to acknowledge the impact of the Hungarian and Suez crises in the conduct of the Games. Immediately after the Soviets invaded in Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain withdrew from the Games. In the case of the Netherlands, the President of the NOC criticised the IOC for claiming that the Olympic ideal should prevail over political matters. He cynically wondered, "How can sports prevail over what happened in Hungary? How would we like it if our people had been atrociously murdered, and someone said that sports should prevail?" (cited in Espy 1979: 54). Despite the Hungarian and Suez incidents, the period of 1952 to 1956 was marked by a lessening of tension and a general consolidation between East and West.

The period 1956 to 1968 witnessed the end of the colonial system and the emergence of newly independent states from the former colonial areas of Asia and Africa. In the Olympic Movement this was evident in the issue of South African participation in the Games (Espy 1979). The opposition of the African states to South Africa's participation portrayed both actually and symbolically the Third World rift and anti-colonial resistance. During the de-colonisation process, nationalism prevailed which provoked the non-aligned orientation of the emerging areas in Africa and Asia. The East and West sought to extend their influence in Third World nations through the mechanism of multinational corporation. However, the emerging nations did not want to become involved in the East-West division, nor did they want to be economically dependent upon the new system of multinational corporations (a form of neo-colonialism). Thus, the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963 and the Supreme Council of Sports in Africa in 1966 (comprised of thirty-two African states) as a response. In the Olympic Movement, these trends are reflected in the establishment of Regional Games in opposition to the established Olympic Games. Guttman (1984) argues,

[the Regional Games] are valuable as a kind of mini-Olympics at which nations unlikely to have their flags hoisted in the victory ceremonies of the regular games might nonetheless enjoy their triumphs, gain experience, and imbibe the lessons of fair play and good sportsmanship. Cities from the Third World, which acted as hosts of the Regional Games, acquired organisational, know how that enable them to stage the real thing one day. (Guttman 1984: 222)

The best known Regional Games are: the Pan-American Games, the Mediterranean Games, the Asian Games, the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF), the

Pan-Arab Games and the Pan-African Games. Guttmann (1984) argues that these games had a paradoxical nature, strengthening Olympism but also raising conflicts against it. Of all of these, the GANEFO movement was the most threatening for the Olympic Movement. In the summer of 1962, when the Asian Games were to be held in Indonesia, the Indonesian government refused to grant visas for the athletes of Taiwan and Israel. Israel had already been banned from the Mediterranean Games in 1952 and this practice was not new. In February 1963 the IOC suspended the Indonesian Olympic Committee for not reacting against its government's discriminatory policy. Within a month the Indonesian Olympic Committee withdrew from the Olympic Movement.

As a result, Indonesian President Sukarno proposed the establishment of GANEFO. The purpose of GANEFO, as announced at a preparatory conference in April 1963, was to be "based on the Olympic ideals, and was to promote the development of sports in new emerging nations so as to cement friendly relations among them" (cited in Espy 1979: 81). Nonetheless, the major aim of the GANEFO movement was to divide and fragment the Olympic Movement, to highlight the political realities of world structure, and to materialise the political plans of the new and non-aligned states (Espy 1979). However, the history of the GANEFO movement was short, as the IOC and the International Federations undermined the legitimacy of the games by preventing people from participating. Interestingly, although the IOC and the International Federations took several measures to prevent NOCs and national sports federations from taking part in GANEFO, applying severe punishments such as suspension of athletes, the GANEFO organisers permitted athletes to participate in both organisations. Thus, the Third World leaders of the movement could be criticised in terms of tactics for not imposing a strong line in relation to the international sport system (Kanin 1988). The short life of the GANEFO movement can also be attributed to the fact that the major supporters of the Games withdrew. Sukarno's successor Suharto did not support the movement, Egypt withdrew its bid to host GANEFO II after declaring war with Israel, and China could not support the movement when the Proletarian Cultural Revolution began (Kanin 1988).

The 1968 Olympic Games, held in Mexico, produced some incidents and scandals, which reflected wider conflicts and trends in the world. Espy (1979) argues that the Olympic Games was witnessing such 'dark' and 'intense' incidents for the first time.

Three political trends or conflicts can be identified during the 1968 Games in Mexico. The first trend was the increasing commercialism of sport, and the increasing role of business as a semi-independent actor in international affairs. This was reflected in the track shoe scandal of the Summer Games and the conflict about the ski manufacturers' names in Winter Games. At the Summer Games, it was revealed that many manufacturers, especially the rival shoe companies Adidas and Puma, were paying athletes to use their equipment, contrary to the Olympic rules and principles. At the Winter Games, the International Skiing Federation came into conflict with the IOC about the amateur rules, raising the concerns that certain skiers were professionals, especially by advertising their equipment. Second, a major political trend was that of the emerging voices of opposition to the established order and world power structure. This was reflected at the Summer Games in several ways: when Mexican students had rioted over internal government policies; when black American athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, saluted to black power from the victory stand and protested against the United States policies; when the Mexican government, counter to the IOC, did not allow athletes with Rhodesian passports to participate, as an opposition to the white-dominated government of Rhodesia. Finally, the third trend that was reflected in 1968 Olympic Games was the Cold War estrangement between East and West, especially after the Czechoslovakian invasion by the Warsaw Pact countries. Although the Czechoslovakian invasion did not have the same effect on the Games as the Hungarian invasion in 1956, apprehension arose in the Olympic circles when there was a clamour to ban the Warsaw Pact countries.

It is also noteworthy to mention that the 1968 Mexico Games marked the beginning of drug-testing in the Games. After the televised death of cyclist Tommy Smith in the Tour de France, the IOC decided to take action against doping. Thus, an IOC committee reached consensus on a definition of doping and outlined a list of banned substances. However, it was not until 1974, that the IOC declared drug-use illegal, raising suspicions that the IOC and some organising committees were suppressing positive results (Toohey and Veal 2000).

In 1968 the United States' involvement in Vietnam had lost its popularity and the new President Nixon rejected the role of world policeman for the United States (Espy 1979). In the interim, China had emerged as a powerful nation, claiming for itself a

position as a third power next to the United States and the Soviet Union. In the Middle East, although the United States had always been supportive of Israel, a growing western European dependence on Arab oil 'froze' the relationships between the United States and Israel. By 1971, the United States could not control the rising power of the Middle East that was expanding in Europe, Japan and the United States through the oil money. These events meant a new world power structure, changing the bipolar arrangement following the Second World War (Heywood 2002).

Many nations used the Olympic Movement as a tool for gaining political benefits and undermining opposing ideologies. The 1972 Games have remained in history for two major political incidents: the Arab terrorist attack against the Israeli team and the South African and Rhodesian questions. As a result of the attack, eleven Israeli Olympic team members were killed and the Games were overshadowed by the loss of human lives. Although many committee members insisted on calling a session immediately in order to decide whether the Games should be cancelled, President Brundage disagreed (Guttman 1992). According to Killanin, Brundage's attitude caused much reaction in the Olympic circles. It is argued that the French Comte Jean de Beaumont furiously uttered "to Brundage...he is the IOC – no one else, just he!" (cited in Guttman 1992: 139). Brundage finally took the historical and controversial decision that the Games should continue:

The Games of the Twentieth Olympiad have been subject to two savage attacks. We lost the Rhodesian battle against naked political blackmail. We have only strength of a great ideal. I am sure that the public will agree that we cannot allow a handful of terrorists to destroy this nucleus of international cooperation and goodwill we have in the Olympic Movement. The Games must go on...(cited in Guttman 1992: 140)

Brundage in his speech also refers to the 'Rhodesian battle', the second major political incident of the 1972 Olympic Games. During the 1960s many countries restricted their sporting links with South Africa, as well as Rhodesia, because of their apartheid policies. In December 1968 the United Nations General Assembly proposed a resolution calling for all countries to break off sporting relations with South Africa. At the executive board meeting in April (1969), the IOC condemned South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) for using the Olympic symbols in the regional white-only South African Games. Finally, it was expelled from the Olympic Movement for violation of the Section 3 of the Olympic Charter (Toohey and Veal 2000).

On March 1971, Rhodesia received an invitation to the 1972 Summer Games in Munich. However, the African countries had raised concerns over Rhodesian participation because of racial discrimination. After several investigations, the IOC decided that the teams were multiracial and there was no reason for suspending Rhodesia. Nevertheless, the central issue was not discrimination in sport but general dissatisfaction from the racial situation in Rhodesia (Espy 1979; Guttmann 1992). Thus, many African nations boycotted the Games, prior to the opening ceremony (Guyana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Zambia, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Sudan). Espy (1979) argues that if Kenya was also threatening, and if neither Kenya nor Ethiopia participated, men's track and field would lose at least ten potential medallists out of twenty-four events.

Despite the South African expulsion from the movement and the United Nations General Assembly's request to all its members to suspend any sporting links with this country, the New Zealand rugby team competed against South Africa in 1976. Subsequently, the African countries, under the auspices of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, refused to participate in the Montreal Games (1976) unless New Zealand was expelled (Guttmann 1992; Hill 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). The IOC supported New Zealand's participation in the Games, taking into account the claim that rugby was not an Olympic sport and, thus, that the New Zealand Rugby Federation had acted independently from the New Zealand Olympic Committee. As a consequence, New Zealand took part in the Games, but 30 African and Middle Eastern countries boycotted the Montreal Games in 1976 (Toohey and Veal 2000). The notion of the boycott as a forceful and efficient political weapon was again used in the two following Olympic Games of Moscow (1980) and Los Angeles (1984).

By the twenty-first Olympiad of Montreal, politics and nationalism not only had become a prominent characteristic of sport and of the Olympic Games, but commercialism had also grown. When Montreal began its planning for the Games in 1969, Mayor Jean Drapeau estimated the costs at \$US120 million, but by 1976 the total cost was \$US1.6 billion. The Quebec provincial government initiated investigations for charges of corruption among the official organising committee and officials of Montreal city. To finance and save the Games, Drapeau turned to firms such as Coca Cola and Adidas (Espy 1979). The economic crisis of Montreal resulted in few cities wishing to host the Games, so that Los Angeles, with its private sector-

funded policy, was the only city to bid for the 1984 Games (Guttmann 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000).

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and in response, the President Carter of the United States called on the world nations to impose sanctions on the USSR and boycott the imminent Moscow Olympic Games. However, many countries, even the close US allies, were reluctant to join. With the exception of the Islamic nations of Asia and North Africa, being eager to express their support to the Islamic people of Afghanistan, Carter's campaign was not very successful (Guttmann 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). Interestingly, some leaders appeared confused and perhaps even insincere about their participation in the boycott movement and its relation to politics. Although Malcolm Fraser of Australia had emphasised the separation of sport and politics, when the Australian Olympic Federation announced that it was sending a team to Moscow, his government withdrew all its funding from the Australian Olympic team. Similarly, the British team went to the Games without governmental support but was funded by private contributions (Guttmann 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). Eventually 26 nations boycotted the Games, most notably the United States, West Germany, the People's Republic of China, Japan and Canada. Kanin (1981) argues that this was "the most extensive diplomatic effort ever connected with an Olympic celebration and demonstrated unequivocally that nations saw the Olympics as an effective tool to try to influence the foreign policy of other nations, those with opposing ideologies" (cited in Toohey and Veal 2000: 88).

The following Games, held in Los Angeles, were also affected by the opposing ideological forces. The Eastern Bloc countries boycotted the Games in retaliation for what happened at the previous Olympics. The Russian NOC declared that the participation of Soviet athletes in the Games was impossible due to "chauvinistic sentiments and an anti-Soviet hysteria [that] are being whipped up in the United States" (Guttmann 1992: 157). Although the safety concerns were put forward as major reason for their action, it is suggested that the chance of embarrassing the capitalist hosts was certainly part of their agenda.

Guttmann (1988) argues that the absence of the USSR in 1984 did not damage the image of the Los Angeles Games, which anyway made tremendous profits from the TV broadcasting rights. In contrast, he argues that the Moscow Olympic Games lost

a significant amount of international legitimacy due to the American boycotting (though this is of course the view from an American commentator's perspective). In relation to the US boycott in Moscow, Nafziger (1985) disagrees with Guttmann and emphasises that Carter's political manoeuvres for initiating a wider boycott movement against the USSR, "divided athletes, threatened to destabilise the International Olympic Movement, aggravated a global public, worried persons with a business stake...and threatened to isolate the United States from some of its important allies" (p. 256).

The Los Angeles Games are seen as the height of the process of commercialisation and commodification of the Games. The President of the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee (LAOOC), Peter Ueberroth, sold television rights to ABC for \$US 225 million; the European networks, Eurovision and Intervision, together paid \$US22 million and the Japanese added some \$US11 million to the total profits. The LAOOC raised another \$US130 million from thirty corporate sponsors, including American Express, Coca Cola, Levi's, IBM and SANYO. There were also forty-three companies licensed to sell 'official' Olympic products. MacDonald's marketed the official hamburger of the 1984 Olympics; the Mars bar was the official snack food, and Coca Cola the official drink. When the Olympic Games ended, the LAOOC had raised so much money from the sale of television rights and from its sponsorship scheme that it had an extra of \$US200 million (Guttmann 1992).

Despite the increasing exposure to the masses through the media, Gruneau (1984) argues from a neo-Marxist perspective, that the highly specialised, elite sport that was being promoted in Los Angeles signified the domination of corporate capital in people's lives. He claimed that the involvement of private, commercial funding of the Games came as a result of 'resistance' against public expenditure.

...there has been a considerable degree of resistance to sport's absorption into capitalism's universal market. Not only the lingering anti-professional traditions of amateurism, but also community and trade union groups have objected to the excesses and spending priorities of the Olympic circus...Yet the result of the resistance was to clear the way for the Hamburger Olympics [Los Angeles] and another stage in the commodification of international sport. (Gruneau 1984: 13)

Roche (2000) also suggests, from a Marxist perspective, that the TV broadcasting of the Games creates an advantage for powerful countries that have an appropriate

technology to personalise media images for their particular national interests, whereas poorer countries are not in a position to enhance their identity through such media messages. The presence of commercial companies in the financial picture of the Games and international sport also accelerated the process of professionalisation of the athletes whose commercial interests were increased out of the realm of sport and of the Olympic ideals (Espy 1979). The IOC throughout the 1950s and 1960s defended the amateur code, but its violation was evident even before the two World Wars, when the Swedish were recruiting athletes from the army and other western European nations were recruiting coaches from America (Krüger and Riordan 1999). In 1971, the IOC decided to eliminate the term amateur from article 26 of the IOC Charter, and in 1981 the IOC President Samaranch recognised the shift to professionalism (Lucas 1992) and by the Los Angeles Games (1984) this shift was reaffirmed with 'professional' athletes able to participate in those sports where the IF responsible permitted.

Nevertheless, despite the criticisms of the new political economy of the Olympic Movement, the new economic practices contributed to an enormous growth of the Games, transforming the IOC from an organisation that was funded by wealthy aristocrats to one of the richest organisations in the world (Lucas 1992). Overall, the Games opened to a mass audience, increasing the interest in international sport and creating a worldwide spectacle (Espy 1979; Roche 2000).

At the Olympic Congress held in Baden-Baden (1981), the IOC decided to award the Games of the twenty-fourth Olympiad to the Asian city of Seoul. Nonetheless, Seoul was a risky choice, as it was ruled by an authoritarian government, it was the capital of a divided nation, and it was involved in war against its communist neighbour North Korea (Guttman 1992; Hill 1992). Boycott threats started as soon as Seoul had been chosen and calls for the site to be changed began soon after the Baden-Baden conference (Hill 1992). The leaders of North Korea reacted and after threatening with a boycott, they demanded that half of the Games should be held in North Korea. President Fidel Castro of Cuba promised to help, and Moscow told IOC President Samaranch that a movement towards sharing would also help the Soviet bloc to participate (Hill 1992). Samaranch, seeking a compromise, offered them to host all the competitions of archery and table tennis and some of the competitions of cycling and soccer. However, such an offer had a double negative effect, displeasing

the South Koreans, and failing to please the North Koreans who finally boycotted the Games (Guttmann 1992).

On September 1, 1983, a Korean civilian airliner was shot down by the Soviets and the Seoul Olympic Organising Committee (SLOOC) had to deal with the reaction of the public opinion (Hill 1992). The situation worsened after the boycott of Los Angeles Games (1894). However, a fourth major boycott in a row was avoided after Mikhail Gorbachev made it clear that the Russians intended to rejoin the Olympic Movement. Moreover, the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) Assembly supported Seoul as a host city (Guttmann 1992; Hill 1992). Due to the complex political negotiations between the North and South Korea, Samaranch visited South Korea eleven times from April 1982 to September 1989. In Korea, he became such a popular figure for his efforts to safeguard the Games that he was awarded the first *Seoul Peace Prize* of 300,000 UK sterling, which he donated to the new Olympic museum's construction fund (Hill 1992).

The Seoul Olympics also experienced the implementation of a new marketing plan, the TOP-I sponsorship programme, which was established in 1985. TOP was developed by International Sports and Leisure (ISL), a marketing and management company jointly owned by the sport company Adidas and a Japanese advertising agency, Dentsu. The association of Adidas with the Olympic Games has been highly significant, especially due to the influential role of its owner Horst Dassler in the Olympic Movement. It is suggested that by 1968 Olympic Games, 83% of medal winners used Adidas equipment, clothing and shoes (Hill 1995; cited in Toohey and Veal 2000: 108). TOP operates by selling to sponsors worldwide rights to utilise the Olympic logo in advertising and promotion during the period of an Olympiad. Partner companies, such as Coca Cola, IMB and MacDonald's, buy sponsorship rights related to product categories such as soft drink, computers or credit cards.

The partnership between the IOC and the TOP sponsor companies formed a new culture in the promotion of the Games, which transformed the Olympic Movement to a profitable business operation. Klein (2001) argues that in the 1980s the multinational companies altered their marketing strategy from 'promoting a product' to 'promoting a brand'. The Olympic Games, therefore, provided an ideal field for associating cultural ideas to the brands of multinational companies, offering a

marketplace of international capitalism. The TOP programme and the commercialisation of the Olympic Movement have enabled the IOC to stop being dependent on governments or broadcasting rights (Toohey and Veal 2000). Lucas predicted in 1992 that the commercialisation of the Olympic Games would be a temporary phenomenon:

The Olympic Movement, especially the IOC, is bedazzled by its newfound avenues of financial opportunity and will continue exploring them for some years to come. By the millennium year 2000, the IOC will have accumulated in properties, investments, credits, and cash sufficient billions of dollars so that it can 'ease off'. It will pull back appreciably from this financial focus and be able at last to devote nearly all of its vast power, influence, and new wealth to educational and altruistic efforts at an even higher level and though a more universal presence than are now possible. (Lucas 1992: 80)

Notwithstanding Lucas' predictions, the commercial interests of the Olympic Movement were not reduced after the millennium, but the profits from TOP companies escalated in the Sydney Olympics. With the end of the Cold War and its impact on the global economic order, the Olympic Movement was transformed into a global capitalist business (Milton-Smith 2002).

In sum, the period of the Cold War was characterised by nationalism, not the chauvinistic nationalism ordinarily seen in the early Olympic Games, but a nationalism related to the sovereignty and political independence. The Olympic Movement experienced the interference of politics in sport, and although the IOC refused to accept such a link, it is undeniable that the issue of recognition of NOCs attached political power to the IOC, which gained a leading role in world diplomacy and foreign affairs during that period. Finally, the Olympic Movement witnessed the shift from amateurism to professionalism and commercialism. The amateur code became more flexible, allowing athletes to earn money by advertising, and the Olympic Movement being transformed into a profitable global business initiating new marketing plans.

3.7 Post-Cold War 1990-2000s: Twenty-First Century World Order

The end of the Cold War came in the late 1980s, when the relations between the East and West began to improve. However, there is an ideological controversy in

relation to what brought about its end. There are two principal explanations; the first attributes the end of the war to Ronald Reagan's politics and the instigation of a renewed US military strategy in the early 1980s (the Strategic Defence Initiative of 1983, SDI), which forced the USSR to respond with an analogous scheme that its fragile economy could not sustain; the second attributes it to the Mikhail Gorbachev's inefficient reform of the central-planning system, giving way to non-communist governments to come to power in a number of Eastern European states. The Gorbachev reforms, initiated in 1985, brought about the collapse of the USSR economic system, which although it had been inefficient, was still functioning. The Communist Party lost popularity and centripetal forces were unleashed which led by the end of 1991 to the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, it is argued that the Cold War and hostilities against the US policy and particularly Reagan's government helped to prolong the life of USSR (Heywood 2002).

The beginning of the post Cold War was accompanied by a climate of optimism and idealism that the era of the East-West rivalry, which threatened to destroy the planet, had come to an end. With the collapse of the communist bloc and the weakening of the Soviet power both domestically and internationally, it seemed that the United States had been left as the sole world superpower. The 'new world order', as expressed by the US President, George Bush Sr., was going to be based not on ideological conflicts and shaky international relations, but on a common recognition of international forms and standards. Central to this new world order was the recognition of the need to tackle international crises peacefully, to resist expansionism and aggression, to control and minimise the production of weapons, and to secure the equal and just treatment of the individuals around the world through respect for human rights. In the early years of the post-Cold War period, it appeared that the above practices could be applied for resolving major world conflicts. Kuwait's invasion by the Iraqis in August 1990 led to the construction of a broad western and Islamic alliance that worked together through the Gulf War for the removal of Iraqi forces. Although the Soviet Union and China did not participate in the war, they did not oppose the use of military forces against Iraq. The Gulf War reinforced to a great extent the role of the United Nations as an international peacemaker, but also as an organisation dominated by American interests (Dodds 2000). Moreover, the *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe* (CSCE), which had been created at the Helsinki Conference of 1975, was put into practice in

Paris in November 1990, when representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO met together and produced the treaty that brought a formal end to the Cold War. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia in 1991 also saw the use of the CSCE (renamed the *Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe*, OSCE), as a mechanism to settle international disputes (Heywood 2002).

However, as a result of the Cold War, the new world order appeared as unipolar, with the USA the only power which had the military, political and economic capacity to control international affairs, having assumed once more the role of 'world's police force'. The US supported democratisation trends in parts of the world such as Latin America and Asia where authoritarian regimes had flourished. It carried out several 'humanitarian interventions', namely the military expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait, its collaboration with NATO to remove Serb forces from Kosovo in 1999, and the bombing of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2002. The USA, unlike other hegemonic powers, promoted the principles of liberal democracy, promoting its actions as effecting the spread of political freedom and respect for human rights. Nonetheless, this image of US-sponsored international fraternity and world peace has often been questioned. Chomsky (1994) argues that the USA camouflages its national interests by proclaiming its faith in international law and national sovereignty. For instance, the anti-Iraq coalition of 1990-91 might have represented the US and wider western concerns about oil supplies, which happened to coincide with regional conflicts among Islamic powers. Similarly, US intervention in Kosovo might be seen as an action that, instead of spreading the notion of respect for national sovereignty, it fuelled regional disputes (cited in Heywood 2002: 135).

With the end of the Cold War, new independent states emerged and the world global economy changed dramatically. The collapse of communism in the eastern European revolutions of 1989-91 unleashed a process of democratisation that drew merely upon the western liberal model and was accompanied by a process of economic transition to capitalism. However, such a transformation from a central-planning system to capitalism, advocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), resulted in insecurity caused by the growth of unemployment and inflation, and its significantly increased social inequality (Hoogvelt 2001). During the 1990s there was a long period of crisis and transformation of the world capitalist system, with many significant issues remaining unresolved. Such issues included: the political economic

consequences of the new world development; just treatment of individuals; equal rights for women; ethnic and religious minorities; sustainability of the environment; and debt reduction.

It is argued that the core countries have been slow to meet the 'Third World' countries' demands for assistance in solving socio-political and environmental problems. Moreover, the new nations of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began to compete with Third World countries for aid, and thus funds provided by the World Bank and other international organisations were insufficient (Dodds 2000). In the face of such problems, 113 nations (mainly African, Asian and South American) met at the 11th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1995 in Cartagena. They supported democracy, human rights, economic globalisation and free trade. They called for reform of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and positioned themselves against terrorism and industrial nations' practices such as trade restrictions, blockades and embargo (Dodds 2000).

3.7.1 Unipolar or Multipolar New World Order?

Since the collapse of the Soviet empire and the democratisation processes in the late 1980s and early 1990s, different intellectual trends emerged in an effort to interpret the geopolitical consequences of the new global world order. It was uncertain whether the end of the bipolar superpower era was characterised by western, US-dominated, unipolarity or by a new multipolar world order. The most characteristic thesis of a unipolar interpretation of the end of the Cold War is provided by Fukuyama (1989; 1992). His article *The End of History?* (1989), which he later developed into the *End of History and the Last Man* (1992), generated much controversy. Fukuyama (1992) went as far as to proclaim that the history of ideas and the ideological debates had effectively ended with the worldwide triumph of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. He argues that although there have been unstable liberal democracies, "liberal democracy remains the only coherent political aspiration that spans different regions and cultures around the globe (Fukuyama 1992: xiii). In his view, all societies strive for economic modernisation, but that this is only likely to materialise in liberal democracies. He argues:

The only parts of humanity not aspiring to economic modernisation are a few isolated tribes in the jungles of Brazil or Papua New Guinea, and they don't aspire to it because they don't know about it... But the aspiration to economic modernisation is one of the most universal characteristics of human societies one can imagine. Though the tendency toward capitalism has historically been much less universal than the desire for economic modernisation per se...technology necessarily points toward market-oriented forms of economic decision-making, What is even less universal than capitalism is the preference for liberal democracy. Nonetheless, as a purely empirical matter, there is an extraordinarily strong correlation between high levels of industrial development and stable democracy. (Fukuyama 1994: 245)

Fukuyama's assertion of the 'end of history' incited long debates and fundamental controversies. Lawler (1994) emphasises that the main deficiency of Fukuyama's thesis is that it does not really make clear what the end of history must necessarily be, thus leading to incoherence in his argument. Among the major criticisms of his account is that it conflicts the heuristic/empirical and the normative levels of analysis. In addition, his approach has been criticised for affirming the universality of the liberal democratic ideal from a western-centric, and in particular American-centric perspective. Disputing previous accounts that democracy was the product of the specific cultural and social milieu of western civilisation, he argues, "it was the most rational possible political system and 'fit' a broader human personality shared across cultures" (pp. 220-21). However, he offers no evidence of indigenous non- western liberal democracies. Von Laue (1994) claims that this is because "none exist...Liberal democracy spread as a result of the Westernisation of the world; its appeal is based on a wide range of factors, all derived from superior power" (p. 26).

In contrast to Fukuyama and his theory of homogenising global forces towards a liberal-democratic convergence, other intellectuals have raised concerns about 'resistance' in forms of ethnic, cultural or regional nationalism. Samuel Huntington (1996) developed the most radical thesis of this kind, warning about future 'clash of civilisations'. His thesis is based on the belief that twenty-first-century conflicts will not primarily be ideological or economic but rather cultural; thus conflicts between nations and groups from 'different civilisations'. He argues,

The post-Cold War world is a world of seven or eight major civilisations. Cultural commonalities and differences shape the interests, antagonisms, and associations of states. The most important countries in the world come overwhelmingly from different civilisations. The local conflicts most likely to escalate into broader wars are those between groups and states from different civilisations. The predominant patterns of political and economic development differ from civilisation to civilisation.

The key issues on the international agenda involve differences among civilisations. Power is shifting from the long predominant West to non-western civilisations. Global politics has become multipolar and multicivilisational. (Huntington 1996: 29)

Huntington (1996) argued that the major civilisations (Western, Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Buddhist, Latin American and Orthodox Christian) would become, in reaction to globalisation, the major actors in world affairs. He asserts that western civilisation, though most powerful so far, is declining and will be challenged by non-western civilisations.

The West is and will remain for years to come the most powerful civilisation. Yet its power is relative to that of other civilisations is declining. As the West attempts to assert its values and protect its interests, non-western societies confront a choice. Some attempt to emulate the West and join or to 'bandwagon' with the West. Other Confucian and Islamic societies attempt to expand their own economic and military power to resist and to 'balance against the West. A central axis of post-Cold War politics is thus the interaction of Western power and culture with the power and culture of non-Western civilisations. (Huntington 1996: 29)

Huntington (1996) predicted that the next world war would be between civilisations rather than states, most likely between China and the West, or between the West and Islam. George W. Bush's declaration of a 'war on terrorism' following the attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001 might be seen as evidence of the latter. Huntington's thesis has nevertheless been widely criticised. It is argued that Huntington (1996) does not establish the link between cultural difference and rivalries, and thus does not provide adequate explanation for the fact that most wars take place between states of the same civilisation. Moreover, it is suggested that conflict between civilisations is based more on perceived economic and political inequalities than on cultural incompatibilities (Heywood 2002).

3.7.2 The Contemporary Global Olympic Movement

The Olympic Movement in the 1980s, and especially in the 1990s, has been an integral part of the global culture through the diffusion of meanings and images in one of the most internationalised and globalised sectors of contemporary popular culture, namely the media. Media, and particularly television, is one of the most highly commercialised sectors of contemporary culture and constitutes a central element of what is referred to as 'consumer culture' (Roche 2000). Gruneau (1989)

examines 'media hegemony', specifically in the context of relationships between the institutions of sport and the media. He argues:

Television's elaboration and selection of preferred emphases and meanings, its favoured narratives, its 'management' of contradictory themes and values (e.g., between unbridled individual success and obligations to team, nation or community), can all be seen as part of a complex process through which some understandings of sport, the body, consumer culture and the pursuit of excellence are naturalised while others are marginalised, downgraded, or ignored. (Gruneau 1989: 28).

The responsible body for the diffusion of meanings and images, and the use of television as a tool of propaganda for the Olympic Movement is the IOC. Since the 1980s and its decision to integrate the commercial sphere into the Olympic Movement, the Olympic Games became a global entertainment spectacle; television broadcasting, accompanied by media cultural processes, attached to the Olympic Games global meanings and transformed it to a truly global event (Roche 2000). Such transformation should be seen in both global and local levels, examining the impact of the Olympic Games as a localised event in space and time, and as a global mega-event of our times.

On a local level, the Summer Olympics of the 1980s and 1990s have contributed to major infrastructure improvements of the host cities. Urban development is a necessary 'task' of the Olympic cities, which should provide the socio-economic and planning context for the Olympic event, and thus be capable of transforming the Games from 'local events' into 'global events' through the media. The Olympic Games are perceived as capable of leaving a positive legacy to the cities with the construction of sport facilities, development of transport systems and revitalisation of urban areas. Perhaps the outstanding modern example of urban development due to Olympic hosting is the case of Barcelona Games (1992). It is argued that the most significant feature of the Games was the role they played in the economic, physical, and political regeneration of the city (Toohey and Veal 2000; Roche 2000). In the face of the forthcoming Olympics, an 'urban project' was initiated, which involved a number of major tasks such as refurbishment of the main stadium, a new museum of contemporary art and a remodelled Catalanian arts museum, and various other buildings. Garcia (1993) suggests that the city's Olympic Games' project emerged as an attempt to revitalize the city's economy after a period of economic crisis and industrial decline (cited in Roche 2000: 144). Local interests and regional

modernisation needs are connected with the Olympics, which appear, especially in the 1990s, as a great opportunity for development of the potential Olympic cities.

Since 1992, when the various potential economic and other benefits of hosting the Olympics had become evident, and the event had become established as a global media-event, the inter-city competition to be selected as host became more intense. Roche (2000) argues that the preceding bidding processes during pre-war and early post-war periods were not as intense because states' and cities' interests in the Olympics varied and in many cases it was the IOC that invited a city to host the Games and not the other way round (for example, 1896 Athens, 1904 St Louis, 1920 Antwerp, 1928 Amsterdam). However, he points out that the situation today is very different:

It is true (by definition) that most of the competitors in this global Olympic city bidding game must be losers, and it is also true that the competition can be expensive to enter. However, participation in this global inter-city game in the 1990s at least enables cities to achieve the status of being potential Olympic cities and thus to associate themselves with Olympic mythology and the (positive aspects of the) Olympic story. (Roche 2000: 152)

The selection of Olympic cities is a process, which is led by the IOC and involves interests of NOCs, national governments and local authorities. The candidate cities make bids to the IOC, which evaluates them through a programme of visits and several revisions until the final decision is made. However, the selection process has long been criticised for its secretive character and association with political interests that often lead to bribery and corruption. On November 1998, the Olympic Movement faced one of the most serious crises in its history, when a Salt Lake City television station revealed that the city's Bid Committee had paid for an IOC member's daughter to attend the American University in Washington D.C. Following this revelation, the Swiss IOC member Marc Hodler announced that he believed that there was 'massive corruption' in the IOC. These allegations led to an IOC inquiry in 1998-9, establishing an *ad hoc* Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of IOC Vice-President, Dick Pound of Canada, together with a number of other inquiries by relevant organisations. The findings from these investigations (the *Pound Report*) led the IOC in 1999 to the historic decision of expelling six of its members. Additionally, another three resigned, some received official warnings and other remained under investigation. The scandals of corruption and bribery between the local organisers

and the IOC members were considered to be a major problem for the public image of the Olympic Movement. It was believed that the corporate sponsors would stop investing in Olympic related activities if the moral image of the Olympic Movement was corrupted. Therefore, the IOC underwent a major reform (2000), which among others included the revision of the bidding process and the establishment of an Ethics Commission, in an attempt to safeguard the image of the movement (Milton-Smith 2002; DaCosta 2002; Roche 2000; Toohey and Veal 2000).

The IOC reform can also be seen as a response to the challenges that emerge from the 'global citizenship' of the contemporary Olympic Movement. Clearly the Olympic Movement in its various facets and different levels is involved with international diplomacy and cultural politics operated by nation-states, international governmental organisations (IGOs), and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). Roche (2000) argues that the Olympic Movement, outside the sphere of religion and science, is the biggest and probably the most important cultural INGO in the international system. Although FIFA plays a very important role in soccer, nevertheless in terms of sport ideology it constitutes part of the Olympic Movement, since FIFA is an IOC-recognised international federation and FIFA's president is an IOC member. Therefore, due to the major role of the Olympic Movement in the international governance system, the corruption crisis surrounding the IOC's global inter-city bid competition induced strong reaction from the sports ministers of various governments, NOCs and major corporate sponsors who pressurised for a structural reform. In this context, the US Senator George Mitchell, an internationally recognised figure for his role in the peace process in Northern Ireland, called for radical new practices of credibility and openness within the IOC (the *Mitchell Report*, 1999).

The Olympic Movement has always claimed to support sport as a means to the promotion of such ideals as freedom, fair play, equality, health and peace. However, its biggest critique is the discrepancy between its rhetoric and its practices (Hoberman 1986; Roche 2000; Milton-Smith 2002). The intensification of competitiveness in the professional sports world, enhanced by mediatisation and commercialisation, puts pressure on the athletes whose potential victory has a tremendous effect on their economic and social status. This has increased the need for 'victory at any costs', leading to drug use and the artificial enhancement of physical capabilities. The IOC's efficiency in tackling the problem has often been

scrutinised and the correlation between its commercial interests and doping problems are emphasised (Möller 2004). Although the problem of doping is fundamentally different from the problem of corruption, both are considered to be direct consequences of rampant economic and political interests. The typical example of the correlation of commercial interests and doping problems is the large sums that companies are willing to pay for contracts to successful athletes (Hoberman 1992).

In response to the worldwide waves of criticism about doping, commercialism, professionalism and inequalities, the IOC has become increasingly interested in connecting its work with well-established world organisations. The IOC's interest is being connected with the work of the World Health Organisation (WHO), based upon the link between sport and health, which was recently undermined by drug abuse and sport injuries. Thus, in 1998 the IOC supported the WHO's annual *Day Against Smoking* campaign, and it continued to participate in the WHO's *International Working Group on Active Life*. Additionally, the IOC refuses to accept sponsorship from tobacco and alcohol industries, supporting WHO's health policies.

The IOC has also been criticised for the limited extent to which it has contributed to the promotion of the ideal of peaceful coexistence. Despite the idealistic universalism and political independence of its ideology, the Olympic Movement has been an active player in world politics throughout its history. However, it has been criticised for its submission to authoritarian regimes (Nazi Olympics) and its use in the Cold War as an international terrain of ideological disputes (Krüger and Riordan 1999; Hoberman 1986). Although it has contributed to the defence of human rights, especially with the isolation of South Africa for its apartheid policy against the Black citizens from 1970 to 1992, the same cannot be said in relation to the regimes that have hosted the Games. The IOC has often awarded the Games to regimes that have been highly oppressive of human rights, such as the 1968 Mexico Olympics, the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the 1988 Seoul Olympics (Roche 2000).

In an effort to establish itself as an organisation which is concerned with the preservation of human life and plays an important role in the sphere of international civil society and governance, the IOC has been connected with the UN in promoting the concept of the Olympic Truce. Roche (2000) argues that the Olympic Movement and the United Nations have been parallel in their actions in the international sphere

during the post-war and post-colonial period. Both provided international arenas in which the new nations could strengthen their national identity and worldwide recognition through displays and public appearance. Although their interests clashed in the past (in particular in the 1970s when UNESCO, under USSR influence, tried to take over the running of the Olympics), today they cooperate closely in several matters. The IOC often collaborates with UNESCO and UNICEF and other bodies of the UN, on issues of education, environmentalism and human rights. Nevertheless, its democratic and peacemaking profile has been recently undermined by the selection of Beijing as a host city for the 2008 Olympics. Despite the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre and the allegations of human rights abuses by the Chinese state, the IOC persisted in awarding the Games to Beijing (Roche 2000). Thus, the future of the IOC might be challenged by the clash of its politico-economic interests and global ethical imperatives.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter the historical framework of the modern Olympic Movement was provided. For this purpose, the history was divided into four political eras. The era of imperialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the late imperialist and inter-war period (1914-1944), the period of neo-colonialism and the Cold War (1945-1980s) and the post-Cold War period (1990-2000s). Elements of world history were used in order to identify the major changes that occurred in world affairs. Each historical period was underpinned by ideological shifts, politico-economic changes and cultural transformation(s). Thus, the chapter has focused on global transnational shifts and their subsequent influences on the Olympic Movement, providing a historical background against which the changing meanings of Olympism will be understood and evaluated.

Research Strategy and Methodological Implications

4.1 Introduction

This study aims to examine the changing nature of Olympism, examining motives, interests and intentions in relation to the promotion of this ideology against the historical, geopolitical, socio-cultural and economic background of the modern Olympic Movement. The investigation seeks to examine key actors' (Pierre de Coubertin, Carl Diem and IOA guest lecturers) views on Olympism from its emergence up to the present, as evidenced in documentary sources, largely reports, correspondence, articles and speeches written by key actors of the Movement. In addition, the analysis will assess the mechanisms through which some values are emphasised, while others are understated or absent. To accomplish this, the researcher will need to identify methodological implications and provide the rationale for the selection and use of specific methods in the research project.

As methodology relates to the link between theory and methods, a major concern of this chapter is to outline the basic assumptions of epistemology and ontology on which the research approach is founded. Social scientists' approach to their subject is determined by their philosophy of knowledge; the way they view the reality and how they interpret the social phenomena. Different epistemological and ontological positions inform different methodological orientations or preferences underpinning a research project (Guba and Lincoln 1994). This study adopts a critical realist ontology and epistemology, and employs the Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) derived from Altheide (1996), a variation of the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). This chapter will therefore seek to review the value positions of critical realism and underline its differences from other major traditions (such as positivism and postmodernism); examine the subsequent implications for the selection of research methods; and provide the rationale for the use of the ECA. Moreover, the chapter will

examine issues of adequacy of theory in conceptualising Olympism, and Olympic values.

In addition, the procedure of data selection and data analysis will be discussed, while the application of ECA to the content and context of this study will be outlined. Finally, the last section of the chapter will raise issues related to validity and reliability of the research protocol.

Table 4.1. Hierarchy of methodological issues

Hierarchy of methodological Issues	
Ontology and Epistemology	Critical Realism
Theoretical Adequacy and Validity of concepts	Modernisation Cultural Imperialism Globalisation
Selection and Application of Method	Qualitative research Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)
Operational validity	Research Protocol Coding and Categorising
Reliability	Consistency/ Coherence Context Reflection

4.2 Philosophical Approaches and Paradigmatic Debates

In debates about the production of knowledge, *ontology* and *epistemology* are the two core concepts to consider. Marsh (2002) argues that ontological and epistemological positions comprise a set of assumptions that underpin the researcher's standpoint. Marsh and Furlong (2002) express this in the following terms:

They [ontological and epistemological positions] are like a skin not a sweater: they cannot be put on and taken off whenever the researcher sees fit. In our view, all students of political science should recognise and acknowledge their own ontological and epistemological positions and be able to defend these positions against critiques from other positions. (p. 17)

Ontology refers to 'what exists' and thus ontological questions deal with the nature of 'being'. Stoker (1995) has defined epistemology as, "how we know what we know" or "what constitutes an adequate explanation of a political event or process" (pp. 14-5). Thus, if an ontological position reflects the researcher's view about the nature of the world, the epistemological position reflects their view of what we can know about the world and how we can get to know it (Marsh and Furlong 2002). In short, if the ontological question were "what exists to be known", then the epistemological question would be "what are the conditions of acquiring knowledge of that which exists?" (Hay 2002). Thus three interconnected, generic activities define the research process: the researcher, who speaks from a particular gender, class, racial, cultural and ethnic community perspective, approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (ontology), that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that are then examined (methodology) in specific ways.

At the most general level, four major paradigms exist: positivist and post-positivist; constructivist-interpretive; critical (Marxist, emancipatory); and feminist-post-structural (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Differences in paradigm assumptions cannot be dismissed as mere 'philosophical' differences, as these positions have important consequences in the practical conduct of the inquiry, as well as in the interpretation of findings and policy choices. Actually, there is a number of ways of classifying ontological and epistemological positions. Probably the most common classification distinguishes between scientific (positivist) and hermeneutic (interpretive) positions or traditions. Researchers in the positivist tradition focus upon identifying the causes of social behaviour; the emphasis is upon explanation. In contrast, the adherents of the interpretive tradition focus upon the meaning of behaviour; the emphasis is upon understanding rather than explanation. The basic problem with this classification is that it tends to conflate positivist and realist epistemological positions seeing them both as within the scientific tradition.

The positivist and post-positivist views provide the backdrop against which other paradigms and perspectives operate. The 'received view' of science (positivism, transformed over the course of last century into post-positivism) focuses on efforts to verify (positivism) or falsify (post-positivism) *a priori* hypotheses, most usefully stated as mathematical (quantitative) propositions or propositions that can be easily

converted into precise mathematical formulas expressing functional relationships (Guba and Lincoln 1994). The concept of *positivism* is traced back to the French philosopher August Comte who shared the view that true knowledge is based on the perception of an objective, detached, value-free knower. Positivist knowledge is accordingly objective, detached and value-free. As sciences are believed to generate knowledge of this kind – objective, detached and value-free – the scientific method is conceived to be based on positivist principles. For that reason, positivism is often perceived as synonymous with ‘scientific’ view. Positivist researchers in social science have argued that sociology should follow the methods of the natural science (Wellington 2000). According to the positivist tradition, there is an objective, external world that exists independently of human perception, which can be subject to quantitative measurement. Under this paradigm, the researcher acquires knowledge of this world through a scientific mode of enquiry similar to that found in the natural sciences. The aim of a positivist researcher is to develop valid and reliable ways of collecting ‘facts’ about society, which can be statistically analysed and then provide efficient explanations about how the social world functions (Clarke 1999).

Like positivists, critical realists hold the idea that there is a real, material world out there, which is independent of our knowledge of it. However, the real world is mediated by our social construction of it and such social constructions can themselves have real material effects (Marsh 1999). A realist position (positivism, critical rationalism, realism) assumes that social reality exists independently of the observer and the activities of social science, that reality is ordered, and that these uniformities can be observed and explained. The other major approaches, interpretivism, critical theory, structuration theory and feminism are, fully or partly, constructivist in their ontological assumptions. A constructivist ontology entails the assumption that social reality is produced and reproduced by social actors; it is a pre-interpreted, inter-subjective world of cultural objects, meanings and social institutions. A consequence of this position is the view that in any social situation there may be multiple realities (Blaikie 1993: 202-3). The main contribution of constructivism to social sciences and humanities has been to expose and challenge many of the taken-for-granted assumptions, which underpin some theoretical approaches. However, as Marsh (1999) argues, its weakness is that it fails “to recognise that there are limits to the possibility of discursive construction, or rather,

more accurately, that while any discursive construction is possible, some are unlikely to have resonance because they run counter to material realities" (p. 13).

4.2.1 Philosophical and Methodological Concerns

This study adopts a critical realist ontology and epistemology in understanding and explaining the expression of values associated with the Olympic ideology across time. Thus, it should be taken into account that: a) the world exists independently of our knowledge of it; b) there are (deep) structures that cannot be directly observed; c) there is necessity in the world - objects/structures do have causal power, so there is a need to make causal statements; d) peoples' discursive knowledge about 'reality' (which exists independently of their knowledge) may affect the outcomes of social interrelation; e) structures do not determine outcomes, rather they constrain and facilitate actions and may be modified by individual action (Marsh 1999: 13).

Taking into account these assumptions, an evaluation of the changes in the values of the ideology of Olympism across time through the analysis of the discursive construction of the key actors will require the formulation and embracing of some notions that will guide the analysis. Critical realists believe that there is an external 'reality', but there are deep structural relationships between social phenomena, which, albeit not directly observable, are crucial for understanding human behaviour (Marsh and Smith 2001: 529). They acknowledge that the world is, to an extent, socially constructed, and that "although social structure is unobservable, it can nevertheless be known to be real because it makes a difference to observable human behaviour" (Lewis 2000: 249). So, if the phenomenon of globalisation is seen as an example, it may be argued that there are real processes going on and that it is the discursive construction of those processes that has affected the outcome. More specifically, in the context of globalisation and modern sport, there has been an increase in international sport competitions (e.g. Olympic Games, World Cup), international sport institutions (e.g. IOC, IFs), and in the broadcasting of sport images around the world through global media (e.g. BBC, NBC). At the same time, however, the way that globalisation impacts upon national sport policy-making is mediated by its discursive construction by politicians, and, particularly, by leaders of sport institutions. Similarly, the deep structures that underpin the expression of the

values associated with Olympism cannot be observed directly. Thus, in order to identify and understand deeper processes that have affected the meaning of Olympism across time, the researcher depends upon key actors' perceptions and their discursive constructions to articulate and promote the core values of Olympism.

The causal relationship between the pre-existing structures and human behaviour has been central to critical realism. Hay (1995: 189) observes, "every time we construct, however tentatively, a notion of social, political or economic causality we appeal...to ideas about structure and agency". Critical realists argue that the relationship between structure and agency is dialectical. Agents are in a sense 'bearers' of structural positions, but they interpret those structures. At the same time, structures change as a result of the strategic decisions and actions of the agents. However, those agents are located within a political and broader socio-cultural context, which they also interpret and which influences their interpretation of the structural context (Marsh 1999: 15).

Thus, this study sees the 'reality' of the Olympic Movement as socially constructed in past by the different persons who have served it in different periods, but their discursive constructions take place within historical structures or contexts, which provided opportunities and constraints. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, Carl Diem and guest lecturers of the IOA are the agents who are to be investigated in terms of their interpretation of Olympism in the structural context of the Olympic Movement against the broader historical, political and socio-cultural context. Certainly, outcomes cannot be explained solely by reference to structures, rather they are result of the actions of tactically calculating actors. The structure of the Olympic Movement is not unchanging, but it changes in part because of the strategic decisions of the agents operating within the structure. At the same time, however, the complex political and socio-cultural phenomena influence the agents and their interpretation of the Olympic values, and it is as mediated through that interpretation that the structural context affects the strategic calculation of the actors. It is important to emphasise that the relationships between structures and agents' behaviours cannot always be explained in terms of causality. Therefore, the agents involved do not control the social context, but they do interpret it and their interpretation subsequently influences their views and actions. The discursive relationships between structure and agency in the Olympic Movement will be

investigated examining the (relative) autonomy of the agents and the constraining or facilitating influence of structures.

This dialectic view has significant implications for the analysis of the expression of values associated with Olympism. First, it emphasises that any analysis must consider change over substantial period of time, rather than taking a snapshot of a short period (Marsh 1999). So any analysis of the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism, which fails to trace how it emerged over time, cannot assess the interaction between structural factors, such as the impact of imperialism, and agency factors, for example the role of Coubertin. Second, it emphasises that it is essential to examine the interaction between economic, political and ideological factors, as they impact upon actors' interpretation of the structural context (Marsh 1999).

Thus, an analysis of the changing nature of Olympism requires a rather sophisticated treatment of stability and change of the values of the ideology over a considerable period of time. Actually, three main points should be emphasised. First, it is apparent that there are degrees of change. Thus, the absence of transformation does not necessarily imply that important things have not changed. It is important to note that the delayed formal admission of women in the Olympic Movement does not necessarily mean that peoples' perceptions about women's participation in sport had not changed during the early years of the Olympic Movement. However, deeper processes did not facilitate the implementation of a substantial transformation. Second, the amount of change over time needs to be distinguished from the question of 'when' change occurred. For example, most people agree that many features of the Olympic Movement are different today from what they were in 1894. However, it is important to identify whether this change was evolutionary or punctuated (that is that there were key events which accelerated the pace of the change). With regard to women's participation in the Olympic Movement, one can argue that the change was punctuated as a result of the external pressures imposed by women's sport movements in the 1920s and the organisation of *Women's World Games*.

Third, the question 'change in what?' should be addressed. It is important to see outcomes as a result of an interactive, or again dialectical, relationship between the ideational and the material. So, there may be an emergence of socialist and

communist sport movements in the aftermath of the First World War, which we know by looking to broadly agreed historical facts (the foundation of organisations such as the Socialist Workers Sport International and Red Sport International). However, such a crisis only has an impact on the values of Olympism to the extent that is perceived as being a crisis by key actors of the modern Olympic Movement, and in a way that reflects the nature of that discursive construction. What is more, that discursive construction will have an impact on the crisis, as seen in the 'historical facts'. For example, the power and authority of the Olympic Movement will be challenged, and alternative Games such as the Spartakiads and Worker's Olympics will gain popularity. Thus, as Marsh (1999) argues, "the outcome reflects the ideational construction of the material and that outcome, in turn, affects the material level which is then discursively constructed, etc., etc." (p. 16).

In order to understand and evaluate the expression of values associated with Olympism, textual qualitative data becomes the medium through which the discursive construction of the key actors will be explored against the political and broader socio-cultural context. Thus, ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning social research that has utilised qualitative textual data should also be considered. With regard to the choice of method, Devine (2002) emphasises that "the crucial question is whether the choice of method is appropriate for the theoretical and empirical questions that the researcher seeks to address" (cited in Marsh 1999: 202). The current project employs the method of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), an approach of qualitative analysis developed by Altheide (1996), which, as we shall see later in more detail, is a variation of Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). Three main assumptions underpin his approach: first, the broader political, historical and socio-cultural background of a person can have an impact upon his views of the world and 'reality'. For example, the aristocratic environment in which Coubertin was brought up influenced his views on 'amateurism' and 'women's participation'. Similarly, his perspective as a French aristocrat during the years of imperialism also influenced his views on 'race' and 'indigenous sport cultures'. Second, the researcher should be aware of this communicative and dialectic process between the structural context and the actors, and should investigate the discursive constructions throughout the analysis. Third, as 'reality' is to a large extent socially constructed, a research project is also considered to be socially constructed. Overall,

research methods and data are drawn from a philosophical position about how the world operates and knowledge is fundamentally influenced by social context.

In relation to the use of historical texts as data for social research, the researcher is required to exercise care in handling and understanding the information provided in the texts. Although broadly agreed 'historical facts', such as the two World Wars and the Cold War, are perceived as 'real' (reflecting a real world), many historical accounts may be found in literature which provide different analyses of the causes that have led to the events, each enumerating different factors associated with their emergence. Thus, as this study draws arguments largely from accounts that refer to the past, the researcher should be aware of the above. Scott (1990) argues,

History is not what happened, not what 'truth' is 'out there' to be discovered and transmitted, but what we know about the past, what the rules and conventions are that govern the production and acceptance of the knowledge we designate as history. History is inherently political. There is no single standard by which we can identify 'true' historical knowledge... rather there are contests, uses, and meanings of the knowledge that we call history.

To understand the expression of values associated with Olympism, the researcher needs to examine the information found in documents, taking into account the socio-political context. The historical framework of the Olympic Movement, as documented by different authors, and its political, economic and broader socio-cultural perspectives will provide the backdrop against which the analysis of the changing nature of Olympism will be guided.

Moreover, unlike positivists and critical rationalists who reject any role of theory in either description or explanation, critical realists consider theory as a dominant discourse in establishing understanding of social phenomena. Marsh and Smith (2001) argue,

The role of theory in realism is to conceptualise observable behaviour by using theory to infer the underlying structure of a particular social situation...theory provides a way of constructing a narrative that helps us identify and explain the underlying structural relationships. Indeed it is impossible to make any sense of the world without some sort of theoretical framework. (p. 532)

Thus, the theories of modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation, which are utilised for this study, are used as explanatory frameworks in order to understand

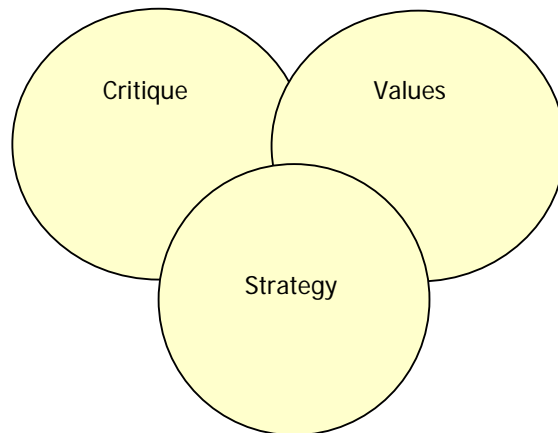
the underlying structures, which facilitated and/or constrained transformations and changes in the meaning of Olympism over time. They help the researcher construct a narrative in relation to motives, interests and intentions underlying the expression of values associated with this ideology against the historical, geopolitical, socio-cultural and economic background of the modern Olympic Movement.

4.3 Theoretical Adequacy

4.3.1 Researching Olympism as 'Ideology'

The term 'ideology' is one of the most debated concepts in sociology, being defined in different ways by different scholars. Eagleton (1991) has listed more than ten definitions of ideology that might be seen in literature. The term has been controversial in politics too. In a political sense, it mostly refers to a set of ideas that provide the platform for an organised political action. Heywood (2000) argues that in this sense all ideologies: a) provide a critique of the existing orders, b) imply what constitutes an ideal future, and c) underline the steps to get there (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Political ideology (Adapted from Heywood 2000: 23)



Raymond Williams (1985) in *Marxism and Literature* argues that there are three common concepts of ideology present in literature: a) ideology as a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group, b) a system of illusory beliefs, and c) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas.

In the first sense, ideology is held to be embedded in practices and includes beliefs in particular groups of people (Hill 1990). These groups could be of different race, gender, social class, religion or other. This approach of ideology is mainly used in anthropology. The second definition is the most debated and criticised in sociology, politics and popular culture. This conception of ideology is associated with traditional Marxist literature. Karl Marx used ideology to refer to ideas that meet the needs of the ruling class by masking the controversies of class society (Heywood 2000). Thus, the fundamental arguments of Marxist positions are, first, that the character of ideologies is largely determined by the economic arrangements of a society, and secondly, that in capitalist societies ideologies present worldviews that are distorted by class interest (Abercombe *et al.* 2000). The notions of economic base and cultural superstructure (Cohen 1978) have been used to explain the first argument, whereas the second argument is often expressed in the concept of false consciousness. Therefore, in this sense, ideology is a system of false ideas or false consciousness to be contrasted with 'true' or 'scientific' knowledge.

In response to the criticism of Marx (or rather of Marxism) for developing a non-scientific approach of ideology, the French philosopher Althusser attempted to redefine the nature of ideology (Strinati 1995). Althusser's aim was to establish Marxism as a science and limit, or even more to liberate it from forms of economic determinism (Strinati 1995). In this respect he wrote his essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)* wherein he viewed Marxism as the science of social formations, a science that provides objective explanations on various social structures (Jarvie and Maguire 1994). The list of ISAs which Althusser provides includes: the educational system, the family, the legal system, the political system, the trade unions, the mass media, the cultural domain and leisure spheres. He rejected the economic determinism of the base and superstructure model. Instead, he suggested a model in which ideology and politics were conditions of existence of the economy (Strinati 1995). He argued that ideology should be seen as a real social action, or as a practice, but yet he stated, "ideology is the imaginary relation between men and their conditions of existence. It is the images, myths, ideas, or concepts through which men and women 'live' their relation in their conditions of existence" (quoted by Open University 1982).

The economic determination and the conception that ideologies are necessarily distorted in capitalist society have raised much debate. Many of the traditional Marxist and Althusserian ideas have been invoked (Turner 1990). The question "if the economic base or class interests distort knowledge in capitalist societies, how is one to acquire a view outside capitalism in order to be able to see and claim that there is a distortion?" was raised, and many scholars shared their doubts about Marxist ideology's effectiveness.

Marxist interest in ideology is often linked to Antonio Gramsci's theory of ideological hegemony (Heywood 2000) and other western Marxists (sometimes called Modern or neo-Marxist) who have tried to provide an alternative to the mechanistic and determinist ideas of vulgar Marxism. The term hegemony was used by Gramsci to describe the role of ideology in allowing the dominated classes to gain more power and significance. Hegemony was described as intellectual domination of the society, which is just as important as economic power to overthrowing a regime like capitalism. In Gramsci's conception, the working class has a dual consciousness, partly determined from the capitalist ideology and partly revolutionary, determined by their experiences of capitalist society (Femia 1981). Therefore, in order for the latter to dominate, the working class must establish its own intellectual domination and develop its own ideology. This position is supported by the western Marxists who claim that ideology works in ways which are not simply related to class interests.

The third definition refers to ideology as constituting a set of values and propositions that people follow in order to understand and give explanations about how society works. Stuart Hall (1982) has defined ideology as, "a framework or network of values, concepts, images and propositions which we employ in interpreting and understanding how society works". In contemporary European debates, the second and third definitions have often been combined. There has been a general consensus against economic determinism and towards a direction of separating, to an extent, ideology from class or economic structure. Moreover, it has also been argued that ideology should not only be seen as a set of beliefs and propositions that is an intellectual product, but it can also be a set of beliefs from ordinary people (Layder 1997).

Olympism is treated in this study as an ideology in the sense of the third of Williams' (1985) definitions. The term 'value' or 'values' is used to signify a wide variety of meanings across the different disciplines. In this thesis the term is understood as "the normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternative actions which they perceive" (Young 1977: 2). This definition of values is reflected in Young's use of the term 'assumptive world' which he employs in his analysis of key actors and the ways in which values and beliefs inform their worldview. As discussed before, there are some paragraphs in the Olympic Charter (2004: 7), which define the values that constitute Olympism (p. 7). However, limited information is provided in the Olympic Charter about the specific meaning of Olympism and the ways the Olympic ideals should be put into practice in people's lives (Loland 2001). This is one of the reasons that the meaning of Olympic ideals and the essential roots of the Olympic ideology have concerned many scholars (Loland 1994; MacAloon 1981; Müller 2000; Sandblad 1985). Although the fundamental principles provide some perspectives about what Olympism can embrace, hence they are open for different interpretations. However, even if the principles are ambiguous, they do aim to propose a way of life based on values that claim to enhance people's lives. The Olympic Games are different from other sport events in that they are related to an ideology (Loland 1994; Houlihan 1994b). Moreover, Gruneau (1993) argues that Coubertin "intended to advance a new vision of sport and the healthy body as a means to solve some of the apparent problems of modernity" (p. 89). Kidd (1984) also underlines that the revival of the Olympic Games was never simply an attempt to recover the past but there was an (ideological) agenda attached to it.

Some writers, influenced by the Marxist conception of ideology, have developed a Marxist critique on sport. Hoch (1972) indicates that modern sport is a microcosm of modern capitalist society. He argues that modern sport is an arena that facilitates cultural domination and exploitation and as such it serves the capitalist interests. Similarly Jean-Marie Brohm (1978) believes that modern sport is one of capitalism's platforms that secure capitalist values. Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 96) argue that in this sense:

Sport provided a stabilising factor for the existing social order; provided a basis for reinforcing the commodity spectacle; provided a basis for reproducing patriarchy;

provided a basis for regimenting and militarising youth and reproducing a set of hierarchical, elitist, authoritarian values.

An ideological interpretation of such a view would thus refer to sport and leisure practices as existing in order to serve the interests of elites, reinforcing and reproducing the ruling forces, hierarchies and authorities. This implies the existence of a state of false consciousness produced by forms of sport and leisure. Olympic ideology has often been criticised as a false, controlling ideology linked with the mega-event of our times, the Olympic Games, seeking power, prestige and profit (Mandell 1976). Taking into consideration that in the Olympic Charter the fundamental principles are briefly and vaguely described in one page and the rest of the charter is devoted to financial and organisational matters, such a view might be understandable. However, the initiators of the Olympic ideology have often been neglected as intellectuals, and the content of Olympism has also been disregarded as an ideology as strong as others. The founders of the Olympic Movement are often described as "...congenial, well-meaning, second-ranked intellectuals, academicians (sic) and bureaucrats" (Mandell 1976). Loland (1994) has also argued that Olympic ideology lacks a defined and systematic body of ideas and that it was never organised as a specific and clear set of norms and principles. He suggested that a history of the most important ideas in Olympism is essential in order to understand what the unit-ideas of the Olympic ideology are. He indicates that an historical analysis of the main ideas in Olympism would help synthesise what constitutes the ideology of Olympism.

Based on his historical analysis, Olympic ideology was initiated by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and major parts of this ideology are derived from Coubertin's influences (ancient Greek, Anglo-Saxon, French and internationalist/cosmopolitan connections). As discussed before (section 1.1), according to Loland's (1994) interpretation of Olympic ideology, there are four main goals of Olympism that are linked to one central unit-idea which appears to be the basis of the ideology. The four goals are: a) to educate and cultivate the individual through sport, b) to cultivate the relation between men in society, c) to promote international understanding and peace, and d) to worship human greatness and potential. All four goals lead to one main unit-idea that Loland (1994) perceives as the basis of Olympic ideology, and that is *humanism*. Parry (1994) and Anthony (1994) have also supported the idea that Olympism is humanism. Anthony (1994) argues that Olympism is in its core a

humanistic ideology resembling humanism. Interestingly, he has suggested that Olympism is an ideology that should be promoted in replacement of the traditional 'isms' – capitalism and communism- as the latter are in crisis. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are many doubts about whether Olympic ideology can be compared with these ideologies in terms of originality, depth of understanding and systematisation of their values (Mandell 1976).

4.3.2 Framework of Analysis

Modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation approaches are the three theoretical strands that will guide the analysis of our data. In a research project that seeks to identify the shifts of modern Olympic values since the beginnings of the ideology that embraces them, insights from modernisation theory might prove instructive. As discussed earlier in the thesis, based on Rostow' s (1960) model of development, there are four stages of economic growth for a society: a) the preconditions for take off, b) the take off, c) the drive to maturity, and d) the age of mass consumption. In order to evaluate the shifts of the Olympic values, it is important to understand that different societies are undergone different processes and the end-state of one might be a part of the process for another (Taylor 2000).

In relation to the values shifts, the process of rationalisation is quite central. As modern societies focus on material success – stage four, the 'age of mass consumption' in Rostow' s model – more and more institutions and projects are valued in their ability to produce outcomes in the short-term rather than to be of long-term intrinsic worth. These aspects are quite relevant to this study and the development of Olympic ideology. The institutionalisation of Olympism with the establishment of the International Olympic Committee, which was working towards the organisation and management of the Olympic Games, can be viewed within the modernisation and rationalisation processes. A highly organised network of collaborations with different sporting organisations and federations and National Olympic Committees was created for ensuring the success of the Olympic Games. The creation of this network and the rationalisation of the processes involved, such as bureaucratisation and organisation, can be explained within the framework of modernisation theory. The shifts of Olympic values in relation to the processes of

commercialisation and professionalisation, and their effects on doping, advertisement, sponsorship and spectatorship, can also be interpreted from within modernisation theory. However, the dominant and dependency relationships within this network, with references to colonialism and post-colonialism, as well as whether Olympism tends to be – or indeed already is - a global sports monoculture, are more centrally addressed by the cultural imperialism thesis.

There are arguments that value-systems are being imposed from the more developed societies on the less developed. This disrupts the modernisation processes and particular growth of the latter. In seeking to understand these processes, arguments from the cultural imperialism thesis might help. While using arguments from this theoretical strand, it is very important to evaluate whether evidence from the documents leads to assumptions of cultural imperialism or not. It has often been argued that although some processes might seem to be related to cultural imperialism, a deeper investigation of the context might lead to different interpretations. In relation to this, as seen earlier in the thesis, Kuklick (2000) argues that the process of exporting cultural products is not necessarily cultural imperialism. It could be modernisation and in some cases it could also be interpreted within the processes of globalisation in economic, commercial and technological practices. In his perspective the fact that many of these processes originate from the US should not necessarily lead to the assumption that what is going is Americanisation. Therefore, what is important is to contextualise evidence from the data and critically evaluate which of the three theoretical approaches is the most appropriate to give explanations about the origins, the dissemination and shifts of Olympic values.

Furthermore, the complex processes of compressing time and space with the organisation of such an event as the Olympic Games, the local interpretations of this global event, the exchange of cultural products and inter-dependency relationships within the Olympic Movement can be interpreted with insights from the different branches of globalisation theories. Phenomena which are used as evidence for one theoretical tradition (e.g. bureaucratisation and rationalisation within the modernisation thesis) can be explained by, and indeed, be incorporated in other theoretical traditions (e.g. cultural imperialism explains bureaucratisation and rationalisation not as some inevitable consequences of modernisation but as cultural products of the West being imposed upon non-western/global culture).

Moreover, multiculturalism in sports, for example, can be approached: a) from a perspective of modernisation, explaining it by reference to the fact that more traditional societies have access to modern sports, b) from a perspective of cultural imperialism, implying that what seems to be multiculturalism is underpinned by a single sports culture that is western-oriented and leads to homogenisation, c) from several perspectives of globalisation, viewing multiculturalism either as universalisation or particularisation, either as juxtaposition or syncretisation, or as homogenisation or diversification (Robertson 1990).

The above examples illustrate that there are not certain concepts, relationships or processes that lead directly to the use of one theory over the other. It is the coherence of evidence given from the documents and other sources, and the specific context of those concepts, relationships and processes that allow us to evaluate the insights of a theory. The table below (Table 4.2) provides a simplified framework of analysis as a guide to the key tenets of each theory and their contribution to the analysis.

Table 4.2 Theoretical framework of analysis

Theories	Focus	Issues addressed	Contribution to analysis	
Modernisation Theory	Modern – traditional	Secularisation and rationalisation – impact on the Olympic values? (The impact on the Olympic spirit – the ritual – Olympism as a religion)	Identifying shifts in the Olympic values	
	Modern (western) societies attempt to “modernise” traditional societies		Evaluating the process of promoting Olympic values in ‘traditional societies’.	
	Capitalism – consumerism – materialism	Do the stratification systems based on criteria of wealth and occupation also reflect the situation within the OM? Issues of equity (gender and ethnicity)	Identifying the impact of bureaucratisation on the organisation of Olympism	
	Rostow (1960)			
	Guttman (1978)	Development projects		Examining changes in the thematic units of the courses delivered in the IOA (commercialisation – professionalism - doping – sponsorship – advertisement – spectatorship – environmentalism)/ selection of speakers
	King (1995)			
Taylor (1999)	Rationalisation secularisation	Non-personal, universalism of modern societies – Olympic universalism – impact - resistance		
Waters (2001)	bureaucratisation specialisation	Increase of record-chasing, quantification – impact on Olympism – any shift on the Olympic values?		
		Bureaucratisation and institutionalisation of OM – the IOC -NOCs – influences – power relationships		

Theories	Focus	Issues addressed	Contribution to analysis
Cultural Imperialism	Cultural diffusion from Western to non-western countries.	Are the Olympic values imposed as part of cultural imperialism?	Identifying the politics involved in the emergence of Olympism
	Westernisation – Americanisation -	Is Olympism an imperialistic ideology of the West?	Investigating whether the Olympic values and the establishment of a permanent institute for their dissemination serves the political, ideological and cultural interests of the West.
Schiller (1969)	Occidentalism	How have the Olympic values been diffused during colonialism and post-colonialism?	
Klein (1989; 1991)			
Guttman (1994)	Trans-national organisations regulating the global market/ global capitalism	Does Olympic ideology promote a monoculture?	Examining the impact of colonialism on the establishment and operation of NOCs
Donnelly (1996)			
Kroes (1999)			
Kuisel (2000)			
Mangan (2001)	Major influence of Colonialism – core and periphery relationships – dependency relationships	Are there dependency relationships among the NOCs? (ex-colony – colonial)	Examining Westerners' and non-Westerners' perceptions on the Olympic values (limitations – they have already been invited and accepted to participate in the IOA).
	Absorption of global culture-hybridisation	How have the Olympic values been received?/ did they have freedom to choose?/ Resistance/ reactions?	The involvement of politics in the selection of speakers Examining the reasons why some countries do not have an NOC.
	Reception and appropriateness of imported cultural products – cultural hegemony	IOC - NOCs – whose interests? (politically – economically –culturally)	
		Representation of core-periphery (and semi-periphery) in the IOA sessions.	

Theories	Focus	Issues addressed	Contribution to analysis
Globalisation			
	<i>Mono-causal</i>		
Wallerstein (1974), Rosenau (1980)	World – systems theory Technological	What is the role and power of the nation-states in the Olympic Movement? (strengthened or weakened within globalisation?)	To understand and evaluate the mechanisms and trends of global diffusion of Olympic values (role of IOA/NOCs/ IFs)
Gilpin (1987), Giddens (1990)	Military – political	The motives behind the establishment of the NOCs – global/local – do they serve the interests of the nation-states or of the global values? – establishment and operation	To identify and evaluate the international relations (or post-international) developed within the Olympic Movement
Robertson (1990), McGrew (1992)	<i>Multi-causal</i>		To evaluate the global character of the IOC/IOA (does it serve the global interests of Olympism? – global/local – western domination- monoculture/ homogenisation/ diversification)
Waters (1995), Featherstone (1990)	a) capitalism b) inter-state c) militarism d) industrialism	Do the global values of Olympism lead to homogenisation?	
Appadurai (1990), Pieterse (1995)	Post-international relationships	Examples of polarisation in the Olympic Movement? (Rise of nationalism – USSR- Two Chinas – two Germanys – Rhodesia – S. Africa)	To identify evidence of resistance (polarisation)
Maguire (1990; 1993; 1994; 1999; 2002), Houlihan (1994a; b)	<i>Cultural globalisation</i> a) homogenisation b) polarisation c) hybridisation	What cultural space does Olympism leave for alternatives? – other sporting traditions? (GANEF0 GAMES – other alternative Games)	To evaluate the process of dissemination of the Olympic values
	global diffusion of sports	Is Olympism a monoculture? Does it serve the West or the 'Rest'?	

4.4 Application of Method: Data Analysis

4.4.1 Document Analysis

The handling of documentary sources – government papers, diaries, newspapers and so on – were widely seen as tools of the historian, whereas scholars in social research have generally been identified with the use of questionnaires and interview techniques. Indeed, questions about the nature and use of documents have been mostly found in the methodological writings of historians. Nevertheless, Scott (1990) notes that it would be wrong to see documents as exclusively historical sources, and argues that documentary investigation was the main research tool of the classical sociologists such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Back in 1981, Platt (1981) noted that “discussions of the use of documents in the standard methodological literature are sparse and patchy” (p. 31). Some years later, however, Bryman (2001) emphasises that documentary research has now been widely used in social research and many approaches have been developed in the field. He has defined ‘documents’ as materials that: can be read (not necessarily literally); have not been produced just for the purposes of the research; are preserved and can be subject to analysis; are relevant to the interests of the researcher. Moreover, they can be classified as: personal documents (diaries, letters, and autobiographies); visual objects (photographs); official documents deriving from the state (statistical information and other); official documents deriving from private sources (company and institution documents); mass media outputs (newspapers, magazines, television programmes, films); virtual outputs (documents on the internet) (Bryman 2001; MacDonald 2001).

Documents in general can be defined as “any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis” (Altheide 1996: 2). Thus, ‘document analysis’ refers to “an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analysing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning” (Altheide 1996: 2). Documents are studied to understand meanings that make up social reality shared by members of a society. However, the meaning and significance of all documents is informed by the researcher’s perspective and act to retrieve information from them. As most

documents reflect the process that has produced them, it is the researcher's interest and focus that will transform a document into 'data' for the purposes of a study. Thus, researchers' findings and interpretations of the document reflect a viewpoint, orientation, and approach.

Documents are the major sources of data in this study. The rationale for preferring documentary evidence to all other sources of evidence is that for studies that refer to the past, the techniques of interviewing and observation are impossible, while documents have survived in great numbers. These documentary survivals are regarded as especially valuable because "they are not deliberately designed for the benefit of the historian" and so can be seen as a good source of data (Marwick 1970; cited in Scott 1990: 10). As discussed before, the study aims to evaluate the changes in the values of the ideology of Olympism across time through the analysis of the discursive construction of key actors of the modern Olympic Movement. Thus, agents involved in the Olympic Movement in earlier years (Coubertin and Diem) are no longer alive and it is mostly through their diaries, personal correspondence and speeches that their views on Olympism can be known. Moreover, using speeches delivered at the IOA (1961-1998) as data, the researcher aimed to identify the range of views on Olympism expressed over time in this central vehicle for the discussion and promulgation of Olympic values. Such an approach allowed the author: a) to identify multiple views on Olympism and examine different interpretations of the Olympic values, and b) to identify the issues that have concerned the Olympic community in the span of four decades. Thus, relying on documentary sources was seen to be an appropriate approach in conducting this investigation.

4.4.2 Assessing Documents

The general principles involved in handling documents as research data are not particularly different from other approaches in social research. However, the specific features of documentary sources require the consideration of their distinctive characteristics and particular techniques that are needed to handle them (Scott 1990). An important issue in documentary research is the interpretation and the evaluation of a document. Assessing a document and evaluating its usefulness for the aims of the research is one of the major tasks of the documentary researcher

(Macdonald 2001). Scott (1990) has identified four key criteria that a documentary researcher should use when selecting material. These four criteria might be regarded as the most commonly used 'quality control criteria' of a document (Platt 1981; Wellington 2000; Macdonald 2001; Bryman 2001). They are: a) authenticity, b) credibility, c) representativeness, and d) meaning.

Authenticity is a fundamental criterion in documentary analysis and concerns its genuineness: whether it is actually what it claims to be. This should constitute a question in documentary research that the researcher should routinely address. An initial issue for the researcher is to examine whether the document is an original or a copy, and if a copy, whether it is a copy of the original or a copy of a copy. Authentication of authorship, and assessment of the soundness of a document involves the use of both internal and external evidence. Internal evidence of vocabulary and literary style can be used to assess the coherence and consistency of a document, but this should also be complemented by such external evidence as the relation of factual claims to established facts, and the plausibility of the content as a reflection of the author's known views. Coubertin's and Diem's writings are not 'authentic' in terms of vocabulary and literary style, as they constitute translated copies of the original documents. However, the external evidence provided in the documents is regarded as adequate for the purpose of the study, which assesses authors' views in the broader political, socio-cultural and economic context.

Credibility refers to the extent to which the evidence is undistorted and sincere, free from error and evasion. Assessing the credibility of a document involves examination of the sincerity of the author's view. The question of 'sincerity', therefore, is the question of whether the author actually believed what he or she recorded, and involves an assessment of the reasons why the author chose to produce this document. Langlois and Seignobos (1908; cited in Scott 1990: 22) have advocated a stance of 'methodical distrust', which means that "the researcher should distrust everything that is found in the documents unless there are good reasons to believe them". For example, many official documents are based on a political interest in presenting one view rather than another, in transforming a kind of propaganda into 'sincere' information or in justifying a particular choice of action. In the case of personal documents the researcher must try to uncover any biases and prejudices that may have led the author to adopt a sympathetic or unsympathetic view in

relation to the people and events reported. As the aim of the research is to identify the process of the expression of values associated with Olympism, examining motives, interests and intentions in relation to the promotion of this ideology, assessing the credibility of the documents will provide further evidence of the analysis.

Representativeness involves a judgement as to whether the documents used are representative of the totality of relevant documents. The question of representativeness involves the two aspects of 'survival' and 'availability'. Not all documents are deposited in places where they are likely to survive. Moreover, a great many documents are destroyed specifically in order to prevent their survival and availability to the public sphere. In order to decide whether a particular collection is representative of the totality of the documents, the researcher must have an idea of the number and type of relevant documents that might have been produced in the first place. Coubertin's work comprises 30 books, 50 pamphlets, 1,300 articles and around thirty leaflets and posters, which together amount to around 15,000 printed pages. Previous estimates of 60,000 printed pages have been assessed as inaccurate, as many texts had been published several times, often under different titles (Müller 2000). Diem's work comprises four editions about sport, and in particular about German sport, (*Handbuch der Leibesübungen*, 14 volumes, 1923-1930; *Beiträge zur Rurn-und Sportwissenschaft* 1922-1929; *Taschenbuch der Leibesübungen* 1925-1930; and *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen*, 30 volumes 1924-1932), and more than 2000 works on Olympism. Finally, 630 speeches were delivered at the IOA Sessions for young participants from 1961 to 1998.

For the selection of the IOA sample, *theoretical sampling*, a technique based primarily on the construction of a research protocol was used, which is described later in detail. The use of this technique facilitated the researcher's selection of a representative sample of the total number of speeches in response to specific theoretical categories of the research protocol. However, in relation to Coubertin's writings it was difficult to access the total number of documents, as they are stored in many different places, such as the archives of the Olympic Study Centre in Lausanne, the German *Carl-Diem-Institut* and different libraries in France as individual documents. Moreover, most of Diem's documents are available only in German, which made it difficult for the researcher to access the total number of his

documents. In both cases, the use of published collections resolved the issue of accessing Coubertin's and Diem's documents, but it made it difficult for the researcher to claim 'typicality' of the sample, as the procedure of selection was undertaken by organisations (IOC and *Carl-Diem-Institut* respectively) which might have had a vested interest in producing this collection. However, Scott (1990) argues that good research can also be carried out with an unrepresentative selection, but the user must know to what extent and in what respects those documents are unrepresentative. Moreover, according to May (1997) the question of typicality depends on the aims of the research and for instance 'untypicality' may also be of interest. Absence of documents, which refer to authors' actions and views that were later broadly criticised, may provide useful information about Olympic institutes' motives and interests in relation to Olympic ideology.

Meaning concerns the understanding of the meaning and significance of what the document contains. The problem of meaning arises at two levels, the literal and the interpretative. The problem of the literal understanding of a text refers mostly to the texts from the remote past and the necessity to decipher the script and translate the language into the linguistic forms current in contemporary community. There may be problems of literal meaning in the translations of the works of Coubertin and Diem but these are only available to the author where controversies of translation are highlighted by other authors. Interpretative understanding, however, refers to all texts used for analysis, and is considered to be the ultimate purpose of examining documents. Interpretative understanding is the end-product of a hermeneutic process in which "the researcher relates the literal meanings to the contexts in which they were produced in order to assess the meaning of the text as a whole" (Langlois and Seignobos 1908; cited in Scott 1990: 30). The social context surrounding the document in question must be examined if the researcher wants to grasp the significance of the document itself even independently from the content (Wellington 1996). Similarly, Hodder (1994) argues that the context of the text is crucial in understanding its meaning, as a text can say many different things in different contexts. Moreover, past and present meanings of the same text should be questioned, as values and ideas are contested over time and anachronistic statements may distort the meaning of the text in its specific historical, political, and socio-cultural context.

In the process of searching for meaning, the study seeks what Altheide (1996) calls the 'emergence of meaning', which refers to the gradual shaping of meanings through understanding and interpretation of the documents themselves through the use of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA). This involves a constant comparison and investigation of documents over a period of time following a reflexive movement between the content of the document, the theoretical assumptions underpinning the study, and the broader historical context.

4.4.3 Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)

The approach of content analysis is one of the most well established forms of text analysis among the empirical methods of social inquiry (Titscher *et al.* 2000). After World War II, sociologists and students of mass communication refined content analysis (Manning and Cullum-Swan 1998). However, it is somewhat difficult to give only one definition to this method due to the multiple and varied literature on 'content analysis' (Merten 1983). In the first place, content analysis referred only to those methods that concentrated on quantifiable aspects of text content. But, subsequently, the meaning of the term was extended to embrace all those procedures which operate with categories (syntactic, semantic or pragmatic) but which at least try to quantify these categories by classifying their data. The establishment of 'qualitative content analyses' (Mayring 1988) has also been added to the enormous range of procedures in content analysis. Titscher *et al.* (2000: 55) argue,

One could describe as variants of content analysis all those methods of text analysis, which somehow approach texts by means of categories, since it is no longer a matter only of communicative content of texts but also of their (linguistic) form. In content analysis it is, therefore, more a question of a research strategy than of a single method of text analysis.

All the methods of content analysis have one core and central tool and this is the system of categories. Every unit of analysis must belong to one or more categories. In the 'classical content analysis' (Ryan and Bernard 2000), once the researcher has selected a sample of texts, the next step is to code each unit for each of the themes or variables in the codebook. Thus, this produces a "unit-by-variable matrix that can be analysed using a variety of statistical techniques" (p.785). However, content

analysis has been weak in respect of capturing the *context* within which a text has been written (Manning and Cullum-Swan 1998). To counter this, Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) was subsequently developed (see also Kracauer 1952).

QCA approach uses a categorisation process but it also comprises an investigation of underlying themes. In contrast to quantitative content analysis, QCA uses “the selection and rational organisation of such categories as condensed substantive meanings of the given text” (Kracauer 1952: 637). Moreover, in qualitative content analysis, the researcher has a reflexive and interactive role throughout the research. Although the categories and variables initially guide the study, ensuring that it is systematic and analytic, other categories might also emerge if the researcher finds it necessary (Altheide 1996). The processes through which these themes are extracted are implicit and the extracted themes are illustrated in the form of quotations from articles or other documentary sources. What Altheide (1996) has called ‘Ethnographic Content Analysis’ (ECA) represents a codification of certain procedures that might be viewed as typical of the kind of QCA (Bryman 2001). Altheide (1996) argues,

ECA follows a recursive and reflexive movement between concept development and sampling-data, collection-data, coding-data, and analysis-interpretation. The aim is to be systematic and analytic but not rigid. Categories and variables initially guide the study, including an orientation to constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situation, settings, styles, images, meanings, and nuances (p. 16).

Therefore, in ECA a categorisation process is operationalised similar to this of QCA, but it moves further with an investigation of underlying themes. Categories and variables initially guide the study, but other inductive categories emerge from the documents. The ethnographic character of the method allows the researcher to investigate the context wherein the author wrote the document and take into account the dialectic relationship of the key agent with his contiguous structures. ECA focuses on collecting and analysing narrative data rather than following the positivist approach of classical (quantitative) content analysis. The major differences between these two approaches are presented below.

Table 4.3. Quantitative and Ethnographic Content Analysis (Adapted from Altheide 1996: 15)

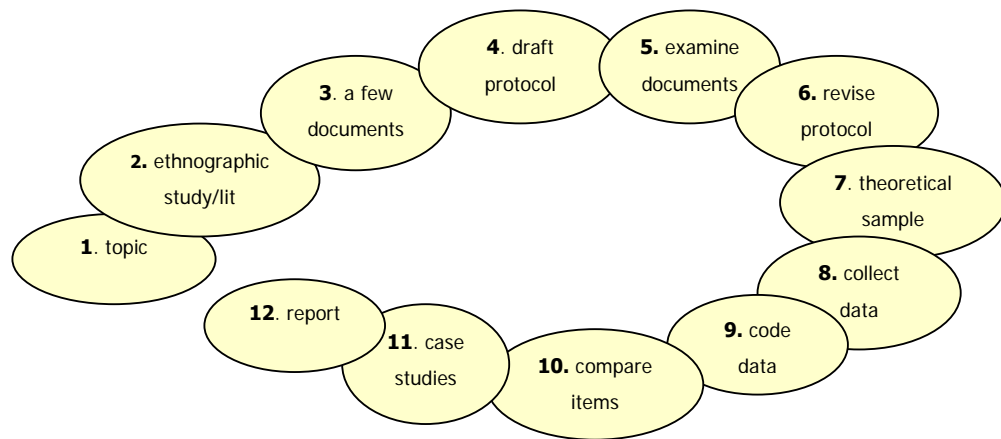
	Quantitative Content Analysis	Ethnographic Content Analysis
Research goal	Verification	Discovery; verification
Reflexive research design	Seldom	Always
Emphasis	Reliability	Validity
Progression from data collection, analysis, interpretation	Serial	Reflective; circular
Primary researcher involvement	Data analysis and interpretation	All phases
Sample	Random or stratified	Purposive and theoretical
Prestructured categories	All	Some
Training required to collect data	Little	Substantial
Type of data	Numbers	Numbers; narrative
Data entry points	Once	Multiple
Narrative description and comments	Seldom	Always
Concepts emerge during research	Seldom	Always
Data analysis	Statistical	Textual; statistical
Data presentation	Tables	Tables and text

Quantitative content analysis pays attention to the issue of reliability of its measures, and on the validity of its findings through precise counts of word use (Sellitz *et al*/ 1964; cited in Silverman 2001: 123). However, Atkinson (1992) argues that one of disadvantages of the coding schemes used in methods such as content analysis is that because they are always based upon a certain set of categories, they build “a powerful conceptual grid” from which it will be difficult to escape (p. 459). Silverman (2001), commenting on this, argued that “while this ‘grid’ is very helpful in organising the data analysis, it also deflects attention away from uncategorised activities” (p. 123). However, ECA approach employs initial categorisation, but there is a greater potential for refinement of those categories and the generation of new ones with the development of understanding of the data. Thus, it allows inductive and deductive reasoning strategies to be utilised in conceptualising the data, allowing the researcher to revise regularly the themes or categories that are distilled from the examination of documents.

4.5 Data Sampling and Collection

The ethnographic approach to documents is based on the principles of qualitative data gathering and analysis. It was noted earlier that its main focus is on grasping meanings, definitions and context. This requires thorough investigation, understanding and interpretation of a document. Altheide (1996) suggests that a researcher must construct a research protocol that will guide the coding and categorising procedures. Constructing a research protocol facilitates the process of data sampling, data collection and analysis. It is a way to take as much information as possible from a document by listing questions, items, categories or variables that guide data collection from documents. If the protocol is well thought through, then the researcher can acquire more information from the selected documents. The following steps, as suggested by Altheide (1996), have been followed for the purposes of the present study (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. The process of Qualitative Document Analysis (Adapted from Altheide 1996:13)



Altheide (1996) suggests that a research protocol can help the researcher develop a reflexive movement between concept development, sampling, coding and analysis. The construction of the protocol in the cause of the research for this thesis was based both on inductive and deductive categories and was flexible in adding more categories throughout the process of analysis (Figure 4.2). First, research questions and themes deduced from the literature review guided the selection of a small number of relevant documents. Then, based on these categories, a draft protocol was constructed. After the primary analysis of the small selected sample, further inductive categories emerged. The total sample selected was based upon both the

initial themes from the literature and the themes that emerged from the primary analysis (thus a mixture of inductive and deductive categories). This sampling technique, based primarily on the construction of a research protocol, is called *theoretical sampling* (Altheide 1996).

For the purpose of the study, documentary sources, largely reports, correspondence, articles and speeches written by key actors of the Movement were investigated. The selection of key agents was based on the following criteria: a) their role in the modern Olympic Movement and contribution to the development and promotion of Olympism, b) their act in different successive chronological periods, c) the availability of their sources, d) relatedness of sources with the focus of the study, and e) accessibility to their writings. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, Carl Diem and visiting lecturers of the International Olympic Academy were chosen as appropriate agents for examining the expression of values associated with the Olympic ideology over time. The central role of Baron Pierre de Coubertin in the initiation and development of Olympism is widely acknowledged in the literature (examples from the broad literature are: Segrave and Chu 1981; Lucas 1981; MacAloon 1981; Guttmann 1992; Hill 1992; Loland 1994; Toohey and Veal 2000). Moreover, in the Olympic Charter (2004: 7) it is stated that "Modern Olympism was conceived by Pierre de Coubertin, on whose initiative the International Athletic Congress of Paris was held in June 1894". Carl Diem has also been a central figure in the Olympic Movement as a close collaborator of Coubertin, initiator of Olympic innovations (e.g. the torch relay, youth camps, the Olympic village), editor of the *Olympic Review* during the war years and leading person in the establishment of Berlin Olympic Institute and the International Olympic Academy.

As for the choice of the IOA as a source of data, it is known that ever since its formal inauguration in 1961, it has played a central role in the promotion of Olympism and the dissemination of its ideals by organising regular sessions for students, athletes, sport administrators, sport journalists, and scholars from around the world. The Academy, being the host for so many sessions, seminars and congresses for over four decades (from 1962 to 1998 the total number of participants at the annual sessions for young participants was 5,222), has established itself as a key centre for the exchange of ideas and discussions about major issues in relation to Olympism, the Olympic Movement and the international sport in general. Thus, by examining

the views and ideas of a number of Olympic scholars and administrators coming from different geopolitical, social and cultural backgrounds, the author would be able to identify the range of views on Olympism expressed over time in this central vehicle for the discussion and dissemination of Olympic values.

As said before, Pierre de Coubertin's numerous publications amount to around 15,000 printed pages having written 30 books, 50 pamphlets, 1,300 articles and around thirty leaflets and posters (Müller 2000). Thus, it was difficult for the researcher to read and have access to all Coubertin's documents. However, for the purpose of the present study the book *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937. Olympism: Selected Writings*, consisting of 201 texts written by Coubertin, was analysed. This book, published by the IOC (2000), is the first comprehensive edition (in English) of Coubertin's writings centred on Olympism and the Olympic values. According to the editor of the book, Norbert Müller (2000), the texts were selected on the basis of the following criteria (p. 20): a) originality of the text, b) relationship to Olympism, c) variation in order to show the dimensions of Olympism, and d) density of information concerning Olympism. Thus, based upon the above criteria, 3,200 pages were considered to be strongly linked to Olympism for the purposes of the book and were carefully analysed in order to avoid repetitions. A total of 46 documents are grouped together in part I 'Revelation' under the headings 'The Search for a New Education', 'Permanency of the Educational Battle' and the 'String of Events'. The Second part of the book 'Olympic Dimensions', consists of 145 writings under the headings 'Historical Perspectives on Olympism', 'The Philosophical and Educational Dimension of Olympism', and 'The Olympic Movement'. A pilot study of six writings provided sufficient evidence that the book was a valuable source of information for the purposes of the study. The preliminary concerns of the researcher to use a pre-selected sample by the IOC were thus allayed.

Carl Diem also wrote and edited many works and, especially during the period 1920-1935, produced a substantial amount of literature. As indicated before, the most important publications were according to Haag (1982: 28): a) *Handbuch der Leibesübungen*, 14 volumes (1923-1930), b) *Beiträge zur Rurn-und Sportwissenschaft* (1922-1929), c) *Taschenbuch der Leibesübungen* (1925-1930), and d) *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen*, 30 volumes (1924-1932). However, the majority of his works, available only in German, are not related to Olympism but addressing

general issues concerning sport, and in particular German sport. However, a selection of writings translated into English and related to the Olympic idea had been published by the Carl-Diem-Institut (1970). The institute was founded in 1964 in order to “promote a deeper understanding of the Olympic idea among German youth and to preserve the intellectual legacy of Carl Diem” (Carl-Diem-Institut 1970: vi). Within this scope a selection of writings from more than 2000 works written by Diem about Olympism was published, including also most of his articles in the Olympic Review. This collection, consisting of 59 texts, was analysed for the purpose of the study, and was considered a good source of data because: a) it included a major part of his written work in relation to Olympism, b) it included most of his published articles in Olympic Review, c) it included texts written by Diem from the beginning of his career as sports administrator up to the last years of his life, and d) it is the only available source of Diem’s documents centred on Olympism in English.

For the selection of the sample from the IOA, the book *The International Olympic Academy IOA: through its lectures, 1961-1998*, edited by Norbert Müller and published by the IOC, was used. This book is a collection of abstracts of all 630 official presentations made during the 38 International Sessions for young participants of the IOA from 1961 to 1998. The abstracts had been given keywords, facilitating the researcher’s task to identify and evaluate the relevance of each speech to the aims of the study. Each abstract was rated as having ‘high’, ‘medium’, ‘low’ and ‘no’ relevance to the major categories of the protocol according to the descriptions outlined in Table 4.2. The documents, which were assessed as having high relevance to Olympism and high relevance to Olympic values, were to be selected as the IOA sample. However, most of the speeches delivered by the Presidents and the Deans of the IOA were finally excluded, as it was found that in many cases same speech was repeated in different sessions, thus not serving the aim of the study to evaluate the expression of values associated with the Olympic ideology over time. The final sample of the IOA consisted of 56 speeches (see Appendix I).

Overall, all documents used in the study were reviewed in terms of the criteria of evaluation and interpretation of a document (authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning) (Scott 1990). The final selection of writings included 306 documents, largely correspondence, speeches, minutes from IOC

sessions, minutes from the German Olympic Committee and official announcements. Coubertin's and Diem's documents were scanned, while the full texts of the IOA speeches were downloaded from the web (<http://www-regional.iacm.forth.gr/IOA/>). All texts were imported for analysis in the QSR NUD*IST computer software.

Table 4.4. Assessment of relevance of documents with the research protocol.

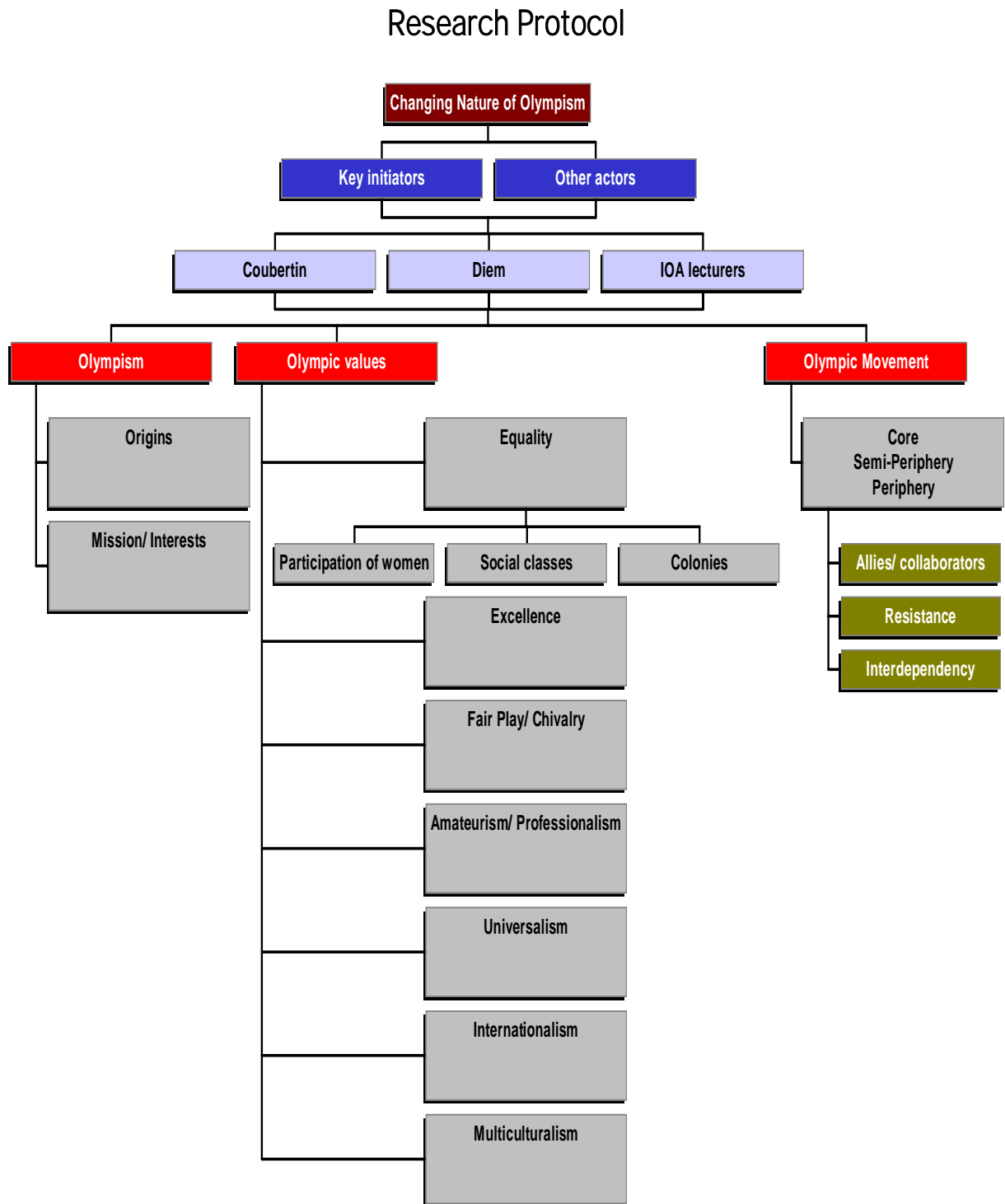
(Relevance)	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	NO
Olympism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition/ meaning of Olympism • Origins - Influences • Olympism – Olympic Movement; their relation and relatedness • Impact of geo-political and historical events on Olympism and the Olympic Movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical accounts that provide information about the development or decline of the Ancient Olympic Games • References to the modern Olympic Games or the structure of Olympic commissions without providing much analytical insight about their impact on Olympism • References to issues of modern sport without mentioning Olympism or the Olympic Movement (e.g. sport competitions and internationalism) • Description of personal sports career while making some reflections on Olympism or the Olympic Movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References to certain Olympic Games in a form of a report (organisational details) • Historical references to ancient Greece that are not related to Olympism or ancient Olympic Games • Content related to the Olympic Movement but it has a descriptive character (e.g. description of the Museum of the History of the Modern Games in Olympia) • Material that could be related to Olympism indirectly (e.g. 'Man in sport: aesthetics of form and movement' or Coubertin describing the setting of Olympia) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References to technical topics of sports training (e.g. presentation on 'Laws of mechanics') • Description of personal sports career without any reflections on Olympism or the Olympic Movement ('My experiences in training') • Description of techniques of documentation that do not contribute to our knowledge of Olympism ('Scientific documentation and its significance for research work and the theory of physical education', 'Questions and problems of literature on physical education')
Olympic values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References to the Olympic values – principles – ideals (amateurism, equality, fair play, doping, universalism, multiculturalism, internationalism) • Role of the Olympic values • Discrepancies in the Olympic values and the reality of the Olympic Movement (e.g. nationalism, commercialism) • References to Hellenistic ideals as part of the Olympic values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References to individual and societal values with references to sport issues • References to Olympic athlete's qualities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The content overall is not relevant to the Olympic values but a few references may be made 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References to technical topics of sport and sports training ('The athlete and the rescue services', 'the optimum age for learning techniques in sport') • Description of personal sports career without any reflections on Olympic values, personal values or any other set of values ('The athlete and the rescue services') • Descriptive accounts referring to the Olympic Movement or Olympic Games that do not provide any information about Olympic values or values associated with the Olympic ideology.

4.6 Data Coding and Categorising

The researcher followed Altheide's (1996) 'rules of thumb' for the construction of the protocol (p. 27). The development of the protocol was a result of several draft protocols. The questions that were testing the effectiveness of the protocol were "Does it generate categories that subsequently will be explored?" and "Does it allow the researcher to identify new categories?" Moreover, all categories of the protocol were relevant to at least one other category and quotations were added to the protocol through the use of the computer package QSR NUD*IST. Altheide (1996) suggests that a researcher must follow the research protocol in conducting the analysis processes. The aim is to be systematic but not rigid and to let the researcher move in a recursive and reflexive way between concept development, sampling, coding and analysis.

The main task was to organise the categories in such a way that covered the conceptual problem (categorising). The protocol was a way of questioning the sample and identifying items related to the research questions. In addition, the procedure of constructing the protocol provided evidence of validity and reliability of the coding and categorising process in qualitative research. Quotes were extracted from the documents and were inserted in the data categories (coding). Data analysis involved extensive reading and browsing through the coded material. Comparisons within and between the categories, re-coding (whenever needed), comprehensive understanding of the findings and links with the theory were the main procedures. The software programme NUD*IST facilitated the process by providing the tools for a faster and more organised way of categorising, filing voluminous material in compact formats. During this stage, the original protocol was expanded with the addition of inductive categories for each set of data (Coubertin, Diem and IOA), resulting in three different final protocols, which all shared the same primary deductive categories but differed in their particular, inductive categories (See Appendices I, II and III respectively).

Figure 4.3. The research protocol



Note: The classification of 'core', 'semi-periphery' and 'periphery' has been problematic in the context of the Olympic Movement, as peripheral nations in terms of political, and economic power (Gross Domestic Product, GNP, Per Capital), such as Africa and Cuba, may be considered 'core' in terms of their successful performance in the Games. Moreover, nations such as Japan, China and the United Arab Emirates, though having a high GNP, they are considered to be part of the Orient or non-western. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the western nations, such as western Europe, North America, and Australia are considered to be the 'core', the countries of the ex- Eastern Europe bloc 'semi-periphery', and the nations from Africa, Asia and Latin America 'periphery' (see also Al-Tauqi 2003).

4.7 Computer-Aided Data Analysis

In the past few years there has been considerable progress in the analysis of qualitative data using a variety of specially written computer programmes. Qualitative data are analytically demanding, and it requires the analyst to 'cut' the data in a number of different ways across the range of cases. As the analysis process of qualitative data is complex, laborious and time consuming, computers can offer a solution in the management of the massive amount of material that qualitative methods produce. The use of computers, however, for the mechanisation of manual tasks also contributes to make the research process more transparent, improving the validity and reliability of its results, since they systematise procedures that previously had been unsystematic and enable researchers to codify exactly how they analyse their data (Keele and Laurie 1995). Different packages offer different functions and opportunities for assistance in the research process. There is no one 'accepted' computer package that is best or the most helpful to everyone, but rather there are different types of software packages available.

It is agreed that computers bring real benefits to qualitative researchers, making their work easier, more productive and potentially more thorough. However, computer aided methods in qualitative research have their own problems and concerns. Lee and Fielding (1991) argue that there is the possibility that the use of computers may "tempt qualitative researchers into 'quick and dirty' research with its attendant danger of premature theoretical closure" (p. 8). Moreover, the ability to do complex analysis can also lead to a situation where more and more complicated indexing structures become inevitable to deal with a production of codes. Another concern is that researchers will be seduced by the convenience and credibility of the computers programmes, and qualitative research, especially ethnography, will be commodified without the knowledge of process that formerly was the main focus. However, it is the researcher's responsibility to use correctly the available computer software packages maximising the benefits they offer and limiting their problems.

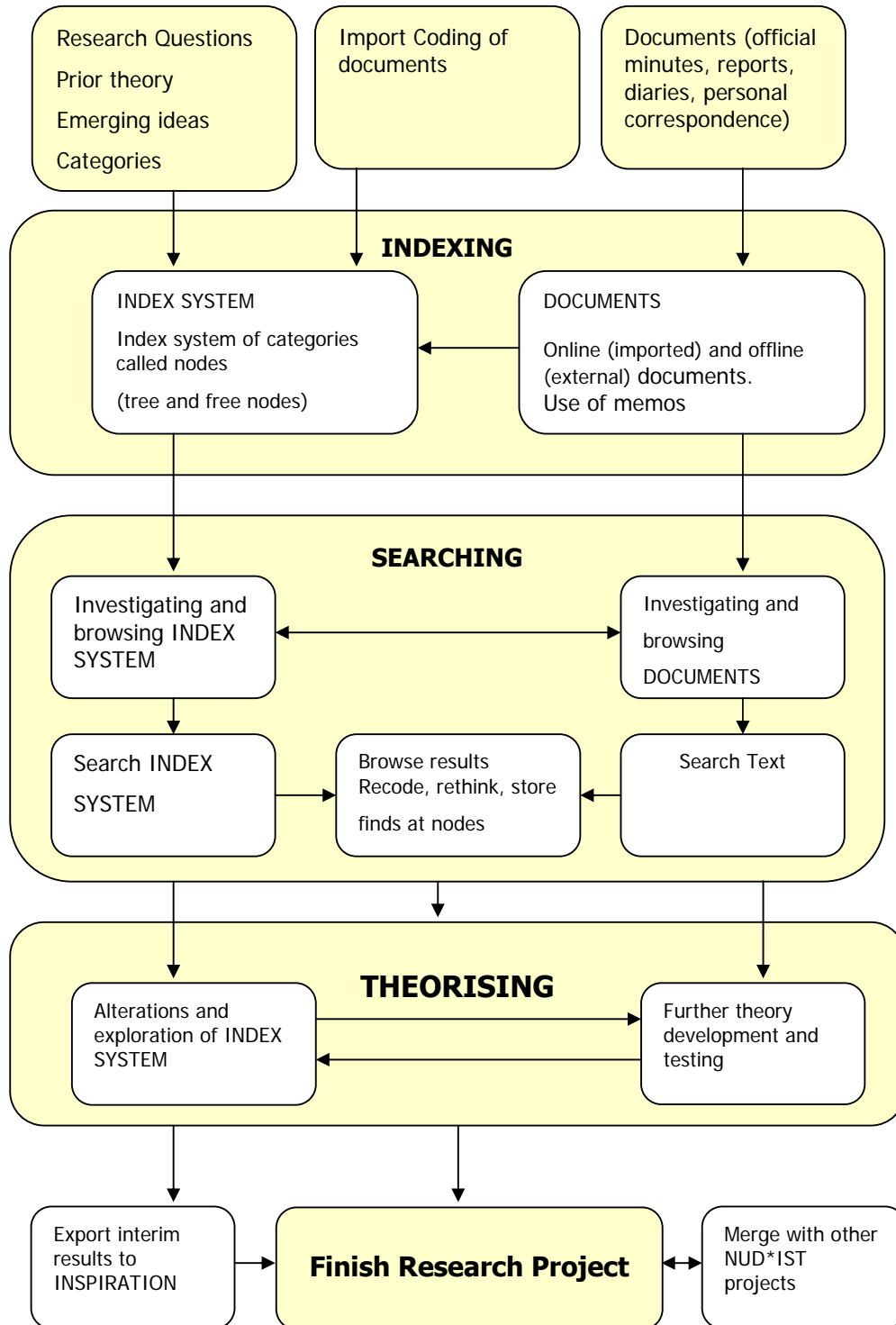
In dealing with the data of this study, the qualitative computer package QSR NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising) was used (Figure 4.4). This software manages data documents such as reports or minutes, transcripts of unstructured interviews, historical or literary documents and

many others. It creates an environment in which the researcher can create, manage and explore ideas and categories to minimise the manual labour and maximise flexibility. Its use above all facilitates the researcher to search for patterns in coding and build new codes; clarify ideas, discover themes and store memos about the data; construct and test theories about the data; generate reports including the text, coding patterns and/or statistical summaries; and display diagrams by linking with graphical display software (e.g. INSPIRATION). A QSR NUD*IST project is organised in two interlocking subsystems, the Document System and Index System. The Document System contains information about all documents, whether imported or external, and a memo can be added. If the document is imported, it also contains the full text of the document. Through the process of exploring and coding, the documents are linked to the Index System. The Index System is made up of 'nodes', the inductive and deductive categories of the project.

Importing all documents in the software required time and effort to scan and prepare the data in a form that was compatible with the computer programme. However, the process was worthwhile since it facilitated the process required by the ECA for a recursive and flexible movement between concept development, sampling documents, collection, data coding, data and analysis and interpretation. Moreover, the scanned documents can be used for future research projects, as well as the coding procedure being available for the examiner's evaluation of credibility. The production of diagrams by linking NUD*IST with the graphical display software INSPIRATION also helped the researcher draw comparisons between the data, and identify links between findings.

Figure 4.4. Structure and operation of NUD*IST (adapted from QSR NUD*IST User Guide 1997: 13)

NON-NUMERICAL UNSTRUCTURED DATA



4.8 Issues Under Consideration

All studies have inherent limitations, limiting conditions or restrictive weaknesses that occur when all factors cannot be controlled as a part of study design, or just because there are problems involving ethics or feasibility (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman 1993). Qualitative research has been the centre of a long debate and it is often dismissed as 'unrepresentative and atypical' (Devine 2002: 204). Nonetheless, Devine (2002) argues that these criticisms are misplaced and "what is a valid method depends on the aims and objectives of a research project" (p. 204). Plummer (1983) suggests, "There is no point in being very precise about nothing! If the subjective story is what the researcher is looking for, the life history approach becomes the most valid method" (p. 102). It would not make sense to employ methods that are inappropriate for the research. Platt (1981) has underlined that "documentary research is not a clear-cut and well-recognised category, like survey research in sociological method" (p.31). Constructing a document protocol is a procedure that helps the researcher to assess the *reliability* of coding and categorising in qualitative research. There is of course the opportunity for the text to have been distorted; in that case the issue of reliability is problematic. However, supposing that there is no evidence of distortion, issues of reliability arise only through the categories the researcher uses to analyse the document.

Silverman (2001) emphasises that "it is very important that these categories should be used in a 'standardised' way, so that to exclude as much as possible the possibility of having different categories from different researchers" (p. 229). Without such standardisation and categorising the increase of criticism is inevitable. In relation to this, Blumer (1979; cited in Plummer 1983: 102) comments:

Many critics charge that the authors of personal accounts can easily give free play to their imagination, choose what they want to say, hold back what they do not want to say, slant what they wish, say only what they happen to recall at the moment, in short to engage in both deliberate and unwilling deception. They argue, accordingly, that accounts yielded by human documents are not trustworthy. (Blumer 1979: xxxiv)

Thus, the combination of an appropriate and comprehensive categorising with a selection of context-specific, appropriate and credible documents might increase the claims to reliability and limit this kind of criticisms.

One of the major criticisms of the qualitative research refers to the interpretation of qualitative material. Is the interpretation of the writings based merely on personal reading? In both qualitative and quantitative studies all empirical material is subject to various interpretations and "there is no definitive interpretation that 'tells' the truth" (Devine 2002: 206). Nonetheless, in quantitative studies, where relationships between variables are investigated, the credibility of the findings can be demonstrated more easily. Some techniques to enhance the *validity* of interpretations exist. The interpretation of a document can be discussed with a group of researchers to acquire a consensus on the interpretation. The internal consistency of a document analysis can be assessed to establish whether it is coherent with the themes that have been set. External validity can be assessed by checking findings with other studies (Fielding 1993b; cited in Devine 2002: 207). Qualitative research is often criticised for lack of objectivity and bias in data collection and analysis. Nevertheless, the qualitative researchers do not claim objectivity but refer to criteria such as reasonableness of conclusions.

The qualitative researchers are *reflexive* when analysing a document, trying to understand the context that is written, evaluating *what* is written, *why*, *how* and so forth (Devine 2002). Its goal is "to explore people's experiences, practices, values, attitudes in depth and to establish their meaning for those concerned" (Devine 2002: 207). Qualitative research methodology has its drawbacks like any other method and technique. However, "rather than attempt to control the effects of bias in field relations, qualitative researchers prefer to acknowledge it in the process of collecting empirical material and explicitly consider its effects on substantive findings" (Devine and Health 1999; cited in Devine 2002: 206).

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, ontological and epistemological considerations were discussed, methodological concerns were raised, and the research strategy of the study was explained in detail. The ontological standpoint of this research is that there are real pre-existing structures within any social construct that are socially constructed which enable and/or constrain human behaviour. The relationship between the structures and the actors is often unobservable but it is real as it makes a difference to

observable human behaviour (Lewis 2002). Through Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), the articulation of values associated with the Olympic ideology will be examined, as evidenced in the writings of key actors of the Olympic Movement. Lewis (2002) argues, "critical realism suggests that both the social rules and the distribution of interests and resources laid down by historically given social structure may exert an important influence on social affairs". Through qualitative document analysis, the historically given structure of the Olympic Movement will be examined and human behaviour and views in relation to Olympism, then and now, will be understood as part and reflection of those structures.

However, no research will be without limitations and the research process can be chaotic. Thus, the goal of the present study is to understand the process in the types and meanings of the documents under investigation. In utilising the conceptual and theoretical assumptions that were outlined in the chapter, the aim is to provide a better understanding of Olympism, identifying any changes in the values associated with this ideology, as expressed by the key agents, since the establishment of the modern Olympic Movement.

The Years of Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1887-1937)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the emergence of Olympism in late nineteenth century Europe, as well as its development and expansion beyond Europe in the twentieth century (1887-1937). The chapter seeks to identify the process of the expression of values associated with this philosophy, examining aspects of power relations among the actors involved, as evidenced in correspondence, publications and personal records of the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. Motives, interests and intentions in relation to the promotion of Olympism are examined against the historical, political and cultural background of the period that is examined. The major method to investigate this process is that of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), a variation of qualitative content analysis, as outlined in the previous chapter.

The chapter is divided into three main sections: a) the precursors of Olympism (1887-1894), b) the early years of the development of Olympism (1894-1918), and c) the expansion of the Olympic Movement (1918-1937). The analysis of Olympism, which is developed, provides evidence through which to evaluate frameworks of explanation drawn from the perspectives of modernisation theory, cultural imperialism and globalisation theories. For example, during the period that is examined many 'inevitable' modernisation processes took place, such as secularisation, rationalisation and bureaucratisation whose consequences have been evident in the sport domain in several ways. However, evidence is also provided that, especially during the period of colonialism, certain actions and plans of key actors aimed at maintaining control and power of the sport movement by the West, thus developing a cultural imperialist programme. Ultimately, African incorporation into the West's sporting movement in the period following the Second World War is

tempered by internal and external (global) factors such that opposition and resistance to western interests on the part of former colonies through the use of the international sport movement are evident in the Suez crisis and the GANEFO Games. The evaluation of Olympism in this chapter aims to highlight the changing nature of the philosophy and to evaluate theories of modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation as explanatory frameworks for understanding the changing nature of Olympism and the interests involved in its promotion.

5.2 Precursors of Olympism (1887-1894)

Pierre de Coubertin, during his life, experienced the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war, and a succession of social changes, as part of the modernisation processes of his era. His native country, France, experienced the victory of democracy, the industrialisation of its economy, the spread of socialist values and establishment of socialist structures, the secularisation of civil society, the absorption of provincial cultures into a strong dominant national culture, the linkage of individualism and nationalism but also the interconnectedness of the world due to an increasing tide of cosmopolitanism (MacAloon 1981). Pierre de Coubertin lived in this era and experienced its distinctive dynamisms and the mobility of social, economic and cultural processes, observing them through the privileged 'lens' of a French aristocratic background. MacAloon (1981) emphasises that,

Genealogy is linked with much larger social interests than simple ancestor reckoning. In most social groups – peoples, classes, castes, movements, and so on – a family tree is not a mere map of blood ties, but an index and icon of the fundamental values which 'blood' represents to that group. (MacAloon 1981: 10-11)

Hoberman (1986) also argues that Coubertin must be understood as a representative of his noble class and an exemplary citizen of the French Third Republic. In this context, Coubertin's values might be seen to a certain extent as a reflection of the conservatism of his class. Interestingly, his desire for success through important endeavours, such as pedagogical reform or the Olympic Games, can also be attributed to the high expectations derived from his aristocratic name. In his 1908 memoir *Une Campagne de 21 ans*, Coubertin, commenting on his resignation from the military French academy St.-Cyr, argued that, "[I] brusquely resolved to change career in the desire to attach my name to a great pedagogical reform" (Coubertin

1908: cited in MacAloon 1981: 41). Inspired by Philhellenism and influenced by the rising cosmopolitanism of his era, Coubertin was committed to initiate educational reforms that would 'modernise' the French educational system.

5.2.1 The Need for Social Reform

Coubertin joined the liberal, republican classicist intellectuals by writing in the journal *La Reforme Sociale* (1883), a combined organ of two organisations, the *Société d'économie sociale* and the *Unions de la paix sociale*, where his first thoughts and expressions about *l'education athlétique* and *la pédagogie sportive* can be found. Both organisations were founded and led by Frédéric Le Play, a sociologist and social philosopher of the mid-nineteenth century who Coubertin admired and many of whose views he shared. Le Play's work had raised much criticism but also received much recognition for its emphasis on the methods of 'fieldwork' and 'observation' with the modern meaning of the terms in sociological research (MacAloon 1986).

His social philosophy was centred on values of social peace, worker's rights, family, Catholicism and decentralisation. He founded first the *Société d'économie sociale* that was open to amateur sociologists who wanted to learn his methods. However, after the historical events of 1870-71 (the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune) and the need for an ideological orientation, he founded the *Unions de la paix sociale* and established the journal *La Reforme Sociale*, which had a conservative character and promoted the values of family, Catholicism and social classification. Pierre de Coubertin related strongly to Frédéric Le Play because they both shared a desire to reform French education. Coubertin's biggest ambition in the 1880s was to improve the use of recreation time and introduce sport in schools. Coubertin wrote the following in *La Reforme Sociale* (1888):

Other ties of even greater significance unite the Committee with the Unions, the goal that it aims to achieve being first and foremost among them. Many a time, Frederic Le Play dwelt on the deplorable tendencies of our current academic regimen, and on the need for immediate reform. We are going to try to achieve one of the points in his program. Were he still alive, we would certainly enjoy his support and assistance. In our view, improved use of recreation time and the spread of sports among school children are but means to an end. We have set our aim higher. The reason we are using these means is that observation and experience have shown that they are effective in giving young people the precious qualities of energy, perseverance,

judgment and initiative that, among us, are the prerogative of only a few. Much can be expected of a generation brought up in this way. (Coubertin 1888b: lines 10 – 47)

Frédéric le Play's influence on Coubertin is clear, as reflected not only in their common plans for social reform, but also in the use of the methods of 'observation' and 'experience' as reliable measurement tools. In common with Le Play, Coubertin believed that social reform should start from education and the young population of France.

Social reform must be achieved through education. Our efforts must focus not on adults, but on children, in order to ensure our success. We must give those children qualities of mind that will make them capable of understanding, and qualities of character that will render them capable of performing the transformation in which your illustrious founder saw France's salvation. (Coubertin 1888b: lines 48 – 59)

On July 1, 1888 the *Committee for the Propagation of Physical Education* was founded, the Secretary General being Coubertin, and it aimed at the transformation of French education. In a letter on behalf of the Committee to the members of *Société d'économie sociale* and *Unions de la paix sociale*, asking for their help in the efforts towards social reform through education, he uses the word 'crusade' to describe their attempts.

In effect, our work is shielded from any political quarrels. It is purely social, and that is one more consideration for you. We are confident that you will assist us in the crusade that we have undertaken, against a system of education that is so ill suited to the needs of the present day, and that has proven incapable of producing the true citizens that France needs. (Coubertin 1888b: lines 90 – 100)

Their social reform aimed to change the conditions of the relationship between the individual and the state, giving more rights to individuals and limiting the authority of the state. In a speech in Boston, Coubertin revealed:

We want free-minded self-governing men, who will not look upon the State as a baby looks on his mother, who will not be afraid of having to make their own way through life. Such is the work that our Association has pointed out to French teachers as being the most important part of their duty. It involves practically what I call the training for freedom. (Coubertin 1890b: lines 63 – 74)

Coubertin, as a social theorist of the French Third Republic promoted the value of 'freedom', hoping for social peace and harmony. Particularly if seen in their French translation '*liberté*' (freedom) and '*esprit libre*' (free-minded), they reflect the values of freedom and democracy, upon which French social structures were established

after the French Revolution (1789) (Hoberman 1986). Coubertin's ideological framework in this period is predominantly and classically republican with an emphasis on the values of 'freedom, God and country'.

And so I have the right to say, and to repeat, that we expect this transformed education to produce [...] active and determined citizens who will adopt as their own the motto of the minister of whom I spoke earlier: citizens who will love God, country, and freedom. (Coubertin 1889b: lines 330 – 340)

Nonetheless, he promotes a more cautious, more flexible form of conservatism that allows changes for the betterment of French society, thus his vision for reform(s). His disappointment with the so far unsuccessful attempts of a social reform is evident below:

At times I have wondered - and certainly I am not the only one who has asked this question - how it is that the doctrines that form the overall social reform program have not had any clear impact on French society so far. These doctrines were proclaimed by an illustrious man whose name is familiar to everyone. They have been supported by societies whose simple, ingenious machinery makes it easy to propagate them. Now, these doctrines are defended by devoted citizens thoroughly persuaded of their value. What is missing from these doctrines that keeps them from gaining the upper hand and revitalizing the country? The reason is that the doctrines of Frederic Le Play are eminently reasonable, and that they are addressed, when all is said and done, to a people that is not. (Coubertin 1888b: lines 18-27)

Therefore, it can be argued that his disappointment at the failure of France in the Franco-Prussian war and the wish for reinstatement of its power, his personal aspirations to attach his name to a pedagogical reform, and the influence on his thinking of the liberal republican classicist Frédéric le Play promoting a successful social reform through education, directed him to dedicate himself during this period to the project of French educational reform. As part of this project, Coubertin travelled to England, America and Canada in order to gain ideas about how to initiate successfully physical education in schools. However, it was English education that impressed him the most and provided the model on which he wished to develop French educational reform.

5.2.2 The English Education System

The birth of modern sport is credited to England, dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. Although at this time, games and sports were not the exclusive

privilege of the British, Britain has been acknowledged as the society that developed them into their current forms. Many of the rules of sport were first codified in nineteenth century England, where their governing bodies were also established (Guttmann 1978; 1994). Thus, Coubertin visited the English and Irish schools and universities in order to make observations on their educational efficiency. Using Le Play's method of observation, which was still new, Coubertin was willing to discover those qualities of English education that were highly regarded at that time, and then transfer them to the French educational context. He visited many places and compiled all his work in a 326-page book named *Education en Angleterre*, which was comprised of an introduction and sixteen chapters. He also wrote a large number of articles, and in many cases he presented the findings of his observations (Müller 2000).

In an article in *Le Sport Suisse* (1929), he expressed his frustration about the lack of gymnastic associations in France. He emphasised that, "The solution on the continent, as in England, was of course to establish free, independent school athletics associations. That was the unit of reform par excellence" (Coubertin 1900a: lines: 43 – 47). Formative in this evolution of sport were the Greater Public Schools, elite private boarding schools, where team sports were initiated as a means of social control (Toohey and Veal 2000). Inherent and central to this model of sport was the notion of amateurism, that is playing the game for intrinsic rather than extrinsic rewards, which ultimately aimed at social distinction and separation of the so-called gentleman amateur from the lower classes of society (Gruneau 1984). As an important component of the curriculum, sport was linked with religion in an attempt to develop 'Muscular Christians'. These individuals, mostly representatives of the privileged classes, supposedly exhibited the positive qualities of both sport and religion, following the ancient Greek ideal, and core concept of Muscular Christianity, 'sound mind in a sound body'. However, they had replaced the practice of a pantheon of gods with the practice of Christianity, and they believed in the notion of chivalry, which dated back to the Middle Ages (Toohey and Veal 2000). Three elements of English education drew Coubertin's attention: a) the centrality of sport in the curriculum, as based on the concept of body and mind harking back to the ancient Greek ideal, b) the 'elastic' relationship between the Church and the State in the domain of education, and c) the English Public School preparation of individuals for maintenance and expansion of the British Empire.

Athletic Education

Coubertin has continuously emphasised in his writings the major role that sport has played in English education. He noted in *La Reforme Sociale* (1887):

Gentlemen, I now come to what seems to me the most noteworthy aspect of English education: I mean the role that sports plays in that education. This role is physical, moral, and social, all at the same time. We have a two-fold reason to consider it here, because I believe that, although we may hope for certain reforms in our system, it is only through sports that they can be introduced. (Coubertin 1887: lines 366 – 386)

It was believed that some of the virtues required for sound, masculine, muscular Christian practice could be learnt through the participation in sport. These included qualities such as sportsmanship, leadership, teamwork, the ability to be a good winner and loser, as well as a work ethic. The strong bond between body and mind, the combination and cultivation of both physical and mental qualities were central for an holistic development of individuals. Coubertin wished to reform the French education on the basis of this view of physical culture, bound up with a set of values inspired by the Hellenic civilisation and the English Public Schools culture.

Minds, like bodies, are constantly occupied by that passion which carries them away and subjugates them. This is, I repeat, encouraged as much as possible. The English believe in the need for enthusiasm at this age. But they think, too, that it is not easy, even if it is a good thing, to engender in children such enthusiasm for Alexander or Caesar. They must have something more alive, more real. The dust of Olympia is still what stirs their healthy competitive spirit the most, and the most naturally. They gladly pursue honours for which they see grown men proud to compete [...] It has been said that the life of the thinker and that of the athlete are utterly opposed. For my part, I have often seen that those who were the leaders in physical exercises were also leaders in their studies. Their excellence in one area gives them a desire to be first in everything. There is nothing like the habit of victory to assure success. (Coubertin 1887: lines: 438 – 512)

The focus of French education was on exhausting intellectual readings and 'non-beneficial', 'wasted' recreation time. In relation to French education he argued once, "boredom and weakness, those purveyors of immorality, hold sway pretty much from top to bottom in French education. In the public high schools, add to that the absence of moral instruction and the poor utilisation of holidays, and you have the formula for creating a high school student" (Coubertin 1889d: lines: 148 – 154). In contrast, the English education, having achieved equilibrium between theory and practice through sports, prepared their pupils for their demanding roles in society.

If you are familiar with the English, you know that life is untenable for the timid, the weak, and the lazy. In the tumult of existence, such persons are driven back, overwhelmed, and stepped on. They are tossed aside, seen merely as impediments. Nowhere is selection more pitiless. There are two distinct races: the race of men with frank expressions and strong muscles, with a self-assured stride, and the race of weaklings with resigned and humble faces, a vanquished air. Well, what holds true in the world holds true in the schools as well! The weak are tossed aside. The benefits of this education apply only to the strong. (Coubertin 1887: lines 534 – 575)

As discussed earlier (section 3.4.1), one of the foremost and most famous exponents of such educational doctrine was Thomas Arnold, a clergyman and director of Rugby College for fourteen years, starting in 1828. Arnold transformed the school into an institution by attaching to sport a central role in the curriculum (Müller 2000). Coubertin began his '21-year campaign' having a vision to transfer to France Arnold's athletic education, the approach Arnold used in order to produce Muscular Christians.

In a word, one must hurry to create a man, morally and physically, of this child who has bad instincts and passions whose assault he will suffer; he must be given premature muscles and will, what Arnold called "true manliness". Initiative, daring, decisiveness, the habit of self-reliance and of taking responsibility for one's own failures... all these are qualities for which one cannot make up for lost time. It is far more important to cultivate them from early childhood than to strive to inculcate scientific notions in young minds, notions that vanish all too quickly for the very reason that they were placed there too late. (Coubertin 1887: lines 417 – 437)

Coubertin thought that, if Arnold's athletic education was adopted by the French, it would help France to bring itself back to health (*rebronzer*) after its defeat from the Franco-Prussian war (MacAloon 1981: 51). As the representative of the French Minister of Public Instruction at the Physical Training Congress in Boston in late 1889, Coubertin visited North America for the first time. There, Coubertin praises in his lecture the work of Thomas Arnold and reveals that the French Educational Reform Association had been established upon his principles, "the English athletic sport system as understood and explained by the greatest of modern teachers, Thomas Arnold of Rugby [should be adopted]. His principles are the ones on which the French Educational Reform Association was founded last year" (Coubertin 1890b: lines 38 – 48)

As emphasised earlier (section 3.4.1), Guttmann (1992) and Hoberman (1995) argue that Coubertin was misled by Hughes to think that Thomas Arnold had been a keen advocate of sports. In fact, they suggest that Thomas Arnold was far more interested

in boys' moral education than in their physical development. Interestingly, there are two books written about Rugby school, *Tom Brown's School Days (1857)* and *The Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold (1844)*. The first was written by Thomas Hughes, a student not much noticed by Arnold, and the latter was written by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who although he came late to Rugby, was promoted to the fifth grade due to his intelligence, bringing him to the attention of Arnold who took him into his inner circle. Thomas Hughes described Arnold as a kind, sensitive, open-minded and benevolent teacher. Nevertheless, MacAloon (1981) argues that Thomas Hughes has possibly romanticised the situation in Rugby school and the distant relationship with the master did not allow him to gain a deeper insight. On the other hand, Stanley, having experienced a closer contact with Arnold, expresses a terrible fear and anxiety about meeting Arnold's high expectations. Therefore, MacAloon (1981) argues, "Coubertin either missed this [i.e. Stanley's perspective], ignored it, or balanced it off against the far healthier portrait of Thomas Hughes, that more ingenuous, airier, and to Coubertin, more kindred soul' (p. 62). As evident in the documents, it seems that Coubertin was aware of Arnold's strict and rigid profile. Nonetheless, he believed that such doctrine, based upon the principle of selection, a core aspect of the popular British ideology of athleticism, was right and fair for the pupils.

One day, when problems had arisen requiring that several students be expelled, showing discontent in the ranks, before the whole school Arnold spoke these words, which have remained famous and which sum up his whole approach: "It is not necessary that there be 300, 100, or even 50 students here; but it is necessary that there be nothing but Christian Gentlemen". This passage deals with an error in public opinion, then as widespread in England as it is today in France. The public held that secondary schools were institutions intended to correct bad character, a detestable notion that can only serve to make a school into a correctional institution and consequently, a rotten place for the honest children who happen to be there [...] This corresponds to a very British idea, that of selection. In the physical order, as in the moral order, it is always the elite that is targeted, because a superior phalanx, though few in number, yields infinitely more than very widespread mediocrity. Thus everything tends to be given to those who already have something, as in the Gospel. (Coubertin 1887: lines 97 - 125)

The British idea of selection, as embodied in the strict Arnoldian doctrine appealed to Coubertin, who envisaged a sound youth for France. Such education could prepare adolescents to become future citizens of a stronger State.

Religion and Education

The struggle for the French educational system represented the antagonistic side of Church-State relations under the Republic. When the Republic dismantled the clerical monopoly on education, "it declared that education under the state was to be 'lay', or non-sectarian, that is to say not specifically Catholic. The Church chose to interpret neutrality as hostility and branded the new schools as 'godless'" (Hoberman 1986: 38). Coubertin, a keen supporter of the new policy of the Republic, stated the following:

One can make an accomplished mind out of a child raised in absolute atheism; but if you manage to make that person an honest man, it comes about through no fault of your own. Whether one is Catholic or Lutheran, Calvinist or Orthodox, religion is not a lesson to be learned, it is an atmosphere to be breathed. That is why government institutions, which necessarily welcome children from different religions, must be day schools and not boarding schools. Other lay, Catholic, Protestant, or even free-thinking institutions should be set up around them. Why not? There must be freedom for all. (Coubertin 1889d: lines 97 - 119)

In an attempt to relax the Church-State tension and maintain social peace, the government often emphasised and publicly appreciated the role of religion. In similar vein, Coubertin also underlined the importance of religion in education.

There has been talk of codifying moral instruction... Outside of religion, there is no moral instruction to teach to children. There certainly is such instruction for grown adults, which is merely religion with the label removed. Without that label, however, children scarcely understand it and they do not learn it. I do not know where we will be in a hundred years, but today, it is clear that there is no education without religion, i.e. without the idea of God and without the notion of the life to come. (Coubertin 1889d: lines 120 - 154)

Nonetheless, Hoberman (1986) argues that Coubertin's 'peculiar religiosity' should not be mistaken for Christianity (p. 38). It was comparable to humanitarian doctrines that did not necessarily embrace the notion of the divine. "I am not one of those", he wrote in a letter, "who thinks humanity can get along without religion. I am taking the word here in its most general sense, not as a belief in a determinate form of divine reality, but as adherence to an ideal of superior life, of the aspiration to perfection" (cited in Hoberman 1986: 41). Besides, his Olympic campaign had often been opposed for its pagan elements that deviated from Christianity. In a sense,

Coubertin's religion was ceremony itself, as it is evident in the following text about 1920 Antwerp Olympics from his Olympic Memoirs.

By holding a public service in the stadium itself, as in Stockholm, before the start of the competitions, we would be forcing the athletes, already grown men, to take part in a religious ceremony that might be displeasing to some. By inviting them, quite outside the Games, to a ceremony in church, we were only associating religion like any other great moral force of mankind with the celebration of the Olympic Games. Then again, it was important that the ceremony should be sufficiently neutral in character to rise above all differences in doctrine. No mass, no priestly address at the altar. (Coubertin 1997t: lines 110 - 118)

Throughout his writings he made many remarks about the Church, some of which were critical. At his most disapproving, he could go so far as to state that "the Churches, entrenched in their opinions as though in fortresses, have always had too great an interest in isolating themselves and in forgetting what they have been" (cited in Hoberman 1986: 41). Once he wrote in an article, "We [i.e. in France]" only know how to prepare syrupy little sacristans or shrivelled little logicians. Truly I admire the reserves of strength and intelligence that enable our race to withstand the inept distortion to which it has been subjected so long" (Coubertin 1900a: lines 43 – 47). In contrast, Coubertin admired the English education for its 'elastic' relationship with religion.

Nothing could be further from the spirit of English education. Religion plays a large, but separate, part in it. Discipline is understood there as consisting of certain in-house rules of order, no more. What the eminent Bishop of Orleans finds so essential to French secondary schools, the English dismiss as dangerous and contrary to nature. They reject the regulation of every moment which demands nothing more than obedience - a virtue that, as virtues go, they never seem to have made much of a fuss about, or even to have understood its nature. Two things dominate in the English system, two things that are also means for achieving their ends: freedom and sports. (Coubertin 1887: lines 15 - 25)

He also suggested that protestant religion allowed more freedom to the individuals,

Protestant religion [is] a very elastic religion that accommodates the most diverse attitudes. Every child is not necessarily led to first communion, or to the act corresponding to it. So here, there is a conquest for the minister to achieve, what Arnold called "a chess game against Satan". Religious instruction is given every Sunday before the students, whose attention and respectful behaviour is required, at least. In general, dissenters do not show a desire to have their children not attend these sessions. But when they do, their wishes are faithfully respected. (Coubertin 1887: lines 350 - 364)

Interestingly, Coubertin admired Arnold's educational doctrine, which was profoundly religious. Arnold's student Stanley has remarked, "his [i.e. Arnold's] education, in short was not based upon religion, it was religious" (cited in MacAloon 1981: 63). The religious character of Arnold's teaching is apparent in his following letter to a cleric:

If I do get it (i.e. the headmastership in Rugby), I feel as if I could set to work very heartily, and with God's blessings, I should like to try whether my notions of Christian education are really impracticable, whether our system of public schools has not in it some noble elements, which under the blessing of the Spirit of all holiness and wisdom, might produce fruit even unto life eternal. When I think about it, thus, I really long to take rod in hand. (quoted by MacAloon 1981: 62)

Arnold's teaching could be characterised as conservative and puritan with frequent references to 'monstrous evil', 'vices', 'temptation and corruption' and 'Satan' (cited in MacAloon 1981: 62). Nonetheless, Coubertin overlooked this and focused his attention on the fact that the English Public schools increasingly prepared their pupils for imperial roles in the Neo-imperial expansion of the late nineteenth century (Mangan and Hickey 2001). Besides, the pedagogical reform through the introduction of physical activity in schools, the achievement of body and mind equilibrium, and the restriction of Church served a core purpose for Coubertin: the preservation of French domestic social tranquillity and the revitalisation of French society.

Educational Reform and Imperialistic Power

The famous English Public Schools were essentially centred on the ideology of athleticism, which emerged in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. After 1850 the image of English public schoolboy regained its status in the circles of middle and upper middle class clientele due to innovatory reforms, substantially associated with newly developed athletic fields. The pupils of these schools were prepared for their dynamic roles in British Empire in the late nineteenth century (Mangan and Hickey 2001). Athleticism was practised, predominantly by the settlers (at least in the early years) throughout the Britain's empire. Horton (2001) argues that the cult of Athleticism coupled with the ideology of Muscular Christianity relentlessly infused the British Games culture into the culture of its colonies. It has even been suggested that

“Victorians were determined to civilise the rest of the world, and an integral feature of that process as they understood it was to disseminate the gospel of athleticism which had triumphed so spectacularly at home in the third quarter of the nineteenth century” (cited in Mangan and Hickey 2001: 106). Coubertin remarks with admiration that physical activity moulded the individuals in Britain and gave them a collective identity.

Then there are the colonies, that career of expatriation so well suited to the English, who bring their "old England" with them wherever they go. Whether they are "squatters" in New Zealand or planters in America, they are better off for having received such a strong physical and moral education in their schools. Muscles and character are objects of urgent necessity in such circumstances. Although the main cause for our own colonial impotence lies with our deplorable system of succession, it seems to me that education also plays its part. (Coubertin 1887: lines 539 - 555)

Coubertin believed that England owed its strength and colonial power to the Muscular Christianity ethos and its strong physical culture.

To the merits of this [English] education we may ascribe a large share in the prodigious and powerful extension of the British Empire in Queen Victoria's reign. It is worthy to note that the beginning of this marvellous progress and development dates from the same time which saw the school reforms of the United Kingdom in 1840. In these reforms physical games and sports hold, we may say, the most prominent place: The muscles are made to do the work of a moral education. It is the application according to modern requirements of one of the most characteristic principles of Grecian civilisation: To make the muscles be chief factor in the work of moral education. In France, on the contrary, physical inertion was considered till recent times an indispensable assistant to the perfecting of intellectual powers. Games were supposed to destroy study. Regarding the development of the character of the youth, the axiom, that a close connection exists between the force of will and the strength of the body never entered anybody's mind. (Coubertin 1896b: lines 31 – 45)

Coubertin's interest in revitalising French society was very strong. It is clear from this text that in physical activity, as practised by the Muscular Christians in England, Coubertin saw a 'tool' for maintaining and expanding imperialistic power. Lucas (1981) argues:

Baron Pierre de Coubertin was convinced that the sport-centred English public school system of the late 19th century was the rock upon which the vast and majestic British Empire rested. In the recondite scholarship of Dr. Arnold and in the ensuing trend toward manly sport at Rugby and in England, Coubertin saw a catharsis, not only for the English, but also for the Frenchmen and eventually all mankind. (p. 23)

Lucas' point is re-affirmed, when one reads the following text from Coubertin's speech addressed to the *Greek Liberal Club of Lausanne* (1918):

It was left to the great Englishman Thomas Arnold to take up the Greek work at the point where a hostile fate had interrupted it, and to clothe it in an educational form adapted to modern conditions. The world had forgotten how organised sport can create moral and social strength, and thereby plays a direct part in a nation's destinies; had so far forgotten it that the spread of Arnold's doctrines and example first in England and then throughout the British Empire was an almost unconscious process. Rugby School may thus be truly considered as the starting-point of the British revival. (Coubertin 1918j: lines 143 –151)

Coubertin has often associated sport with the strengthening of national vigour. He believed that athletics could "be used to strengthen peace or prepare for war" and that the victory of a nation was often due to its athletic virility (Coubertin 1997f: p. 322).

At fixed periods all the other manifestations of national life grouped themselves around a considered athleticism [...] Thus when the Persian peril threatened Hellenism between 500 and 449 B.C. unexpected armies and navies barred the way to the ambitions of Darius and Xerxes and the greed of their advisers. There had been hesitation before the massive forces of the adversary; more than one city was inclined to submit to the ultimatum. Athens rose up. Victory proved it right. Now if many centuries later - for history has eloquent turnings and sometimes repeats itself strangely - an English general [Wellington] was able to say that the battle of Waterloo had been won on the playing-fields of Eton, how much more accurate still is it to proclaim that the glory of Marathon and Salamis was forged in the precincts of the Greek Gymnasium. (Coubertin 1918j: lines 63 – 78)

Coubertin was convinced that Thomas Arnold's methods at Rugby School and the British sport ethic taught in their private elite schools had been responsible for Britain's success as a world super power in the nineteenth century, and therefore that it should be exported to France (Lucas 1981; Hill 1992; Guttmann 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). Thereafter, one of his major tasks was to persuade the French to introduce physical education in schools based on the classical values of the Greek gymnasium. Coubertin believed that if France would emulate this system, then the nation's former glory days could be revived. In 1919, after the end of the First World War and the victory of the *Entente* Powers, Coubertin argued that France owed to a great extent its regained strength to the educational reforms based on Arnold's model of sport ethic.

This is the kind of sport [the English sport], which I had in mind thirty years ago when I made a pact with Jules Simon for the reinvigoration of France. The conviction

of the septuagenarian philosopher was no less ardent than my own, and events have fulfilled our hopes. A manlier and broader education soon begot results as fruitful as those whose benefits the England of Thomas Arnold had reaped some time before. In vain did Frenchmen blinded by party spirit undertake the sorry task of portraying to the outside world a decadence, which existed only within themselves. History will delineate the rising curve which enabled the Republic to write in forty years the most admirable of colonial epics and to guide youth through the dangers of pacifism and freedom pushed to extreme limits right up to that 1914 mobilisation which will remain one of the finest spectacles which Democracy has given the world. (Coubertin 1918j: lines 170 - 191)

Coubertin speaks with satisfaction about the new situation in France, which is attributed to the new educational system. He refers to his long-term efforts in this direction together with Jules Simon, Minister of Public Instruction from 1870 to 1879 and President of the Committee for the Propagation of Physical Education. Being relieved that France survived the First World War, and most importantly that France appeared stronger than Germany in the post-Franco-Prussian period, Coubertin could not hide his enthusiasm for such results. The value of physical education was emphasised as a principal factor for this national empowerment.

Recent events have resulted in entirely new circumstances. Sports are on the front lines of the forces that brought about victory. It is to sports that we owe the magnificent innovations that made it possible for England and the United States to transport unexpected armies to the theatre of war. It is thanks to them that the valiant Sokols covered their homelands with laurels, even before the borders were set and freedom assured. It is through sports that France, as heroic as in 1870 but infinitely stronger, was able to raise a powerful rampart of muscle against the invasion. After helping train incomparable soldiers, athleticism also helped sustain their zeal and console them in their suffering. They played foot- ball, they fenced, and they boxed right up by the front lines and far from them, as well, in the sad prisoners' camps. Public opinion is aware of these things, and appreciates them. Well-deserved enthusiasm will guarantee the value of physical education, and proclaim the triumph of sports. (Coubertin 1919a: lines 77 – 97)

As evident in his early writings, Coubertin was at first interested in revitalising French society merely from a nationalistic perspective. His patriotism and faith in the Third Republic prevailed, thus his devotion to social cohesion and the need for social reform. However, in an era that witnessed a remarkable proliferation of trans-national movements and organisations for the sake of world peace and reconciliation, Coubertin's international interests transcended his limited nationalist scope. Coubertin's strategy for reconciling his nationalist and internationalist interests was the revival of modern Olympic Games. This constituted both a response to the cosmopolitan trends of his era but also an attempt to promote sport "as the virile

formula on which the health of the State can be founded" (Coubertin 1889a: lines 28-29).

5.3 The Early Years of Olympism (1894-1918)

It was not until 1889 that Coubertin decided to try to revive the Games, and thus he devoted the next five years for the preparation of the International Congress of Sportsmen in 1894 (Hill 1992). During the period of 1890s Olympism was 'in the air' (Lucas 1981), but it was not until 1894 that it started to take a more specific definition and form.

5.3.1 The Revival of Modern Olympic Games

In 1894, Coubertin arranged an international Congress, during which the decision was taken to revive the Olympic Games (Hill 1992). However, he had already prepared the ground for it two years before. On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the *Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques* (USFSA), held on November 1892, Coubertin found the chance to spread the idea of reviving the Games to a crowd of French and foreign dignitaries. For the first time, Coubertin could express his project publicly before his acquaintances and colleagues (Boulogne 1999).

However, as discussed earlier in the thesis (section 3.4.2), there was an opposition raised by the Ministry of education, and the professional bodies of cyclists, weightlifters, oarsmen and football players (IOC 1994; Guttmann 1992). Hill (1992) argues that, "a man was a fencer or an oarsman or a cyclist, but did not have the Olympic ideal of being simply a sportsman" (p.17). As a response to their opposition, Coubertin argued, "Let us export our oarsmen, our runners, our fencers into other lands. That is the true Free Trade of the future, and the day it is introduced into Europe the cause of Peace will have received a new and strong ally" (Coubertin 1892; cited in Hoberman: 177). Hoberman (2004) argues, "this proposal to invent and implement a symbolic version of free trade on behalf of international relations

reminds us that Coubertin's Olympic project remains among the most durable monuments of the early phase of what we may call modern globalisation" (p. 177).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the technological advances and scientific inventions such as the railway and global telegraphy opened new ways of communication and encouraged people to hope for peace and understanding through contact. Nonetheless, Kristof (1999) argues that such developments constitute the first era of globalisation and emphasises, "perhaps the greatest myth about globalisation is that it is new" (cited in Hoberman 2004: 177). In support of this view, James (2001) points out that during the *fin-de-siècle*, "the world was highly integrated economically, through mobility of capital, information, goods and people. Capital moved freely between states and continents. The movement of capital would not have been possible without improved mechanisms for spreading news and ideas" (cited in Hoberman: 177). Hoberman (2004) also argues that this first era of globalisation was made possible by steamship lines, free trade and foreign investment that influenced world civilisations. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Robertson (1992) insists that the process of globalisation is not new, that it precedes modernity and the rise of technology. However, the rapidity of communication, and other modern achievements of science and technology in the late nineteenth century increased the pace of globalisation processes during this period. Moreover, the new conditions made it possible for international projects, such as the revival of the Olympics, to be put into practice.

Whenever a new idea has sprung up, assumed a practical form and become a reality, it is not always easy to explain why this particular idea, more than any other, has emerged from the stream of other thoughts, which are as yet awaiting their realisation. This however is, not the case with the reinstatement of the Olympic Games: Their revival is not owing to a spontaneous dream, but it is the logical consequence of the great cosmopolitan tendencies of our times. The XIXth Century has seen the awakening of a taste for athletics everywhere; at its dawn in Germany and Sweden, at its meridian in England, at its decline in France and America. At the same time the great inventions of the age, railroads and telegraphs, have brought into communication people of all nationalities. An easier intercourse between men of all languages has naturally opened a wider sphere for common interests. Men have begun to lead less isolated existences, different races have learnt to know, to understand each other better, and by comparing their powers and achievements in the fields of art, industry and science, a noble rivalry has sprung up amongst them, urging them on to greater accomplishments. Universal Exhibitions have collected together at one spot of the globe, the products of its remotest corners. In the domain of science and literature, assemblies and conferences have united the most distinguished intellectual labourers of all nations. Could it be otherwise, but that also

sportsmen of diverse nationalities should have begun to meet each other on common ground? (Coubertin 1896b: lines 2 – 32)

Similarly to the globalisation processes of the last decades of the twentieth century, this early phase of globalisation in the late nineteenth century was facilitated by technological breakthroughs such as telegraphic communication (something like the internet of the late 20th C.). Such global civilisation offered the Olympic Movement the political and economic circumstances in which to develop its international vision. Moreover, international mega-events, such as Universal Exhibitions and international sport events like the Olympics, helped to create an 'international public culture' particularly in the West in the late nineteenth century. Roche (2000) argues that the mega-events of this period have helped to develop 'international public culture' by providing aims and rationales, and by creating internationally recognised calendars and cycles in a specific time and place for internationally-based cultural event movements such as the Olympic Movement. Imperialism had been a foundational theme in the approach of Britain and France to the early international expos of the 1850s and 1860s. Particularly for France, Hobsbawm (1992) argues, from a neo-Marxist perspective, that the different cultural policies of the Third Republic aimed to reinstate the good relationships with the public after the loss in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1). The Third Republic was responsible for three of the most important of the late nineteenth-century series of international expositions, namely those staged in Paris in 1878, 1889 and 1900 (Roche 2000).

The last decades of the nineteenth century also saw a remarkable rise of trans-national movements and organisations, which served idealistic purposes. Some of the better-known organisations of this period, the so-called 'idealistic internationalisms', include the International Committee of the Red Cross (1863), the Esperanto movement (1887), the Olympic Movement (1894) and the Scouting movement (1907) (Hoberman 1995; 2004). All these organisations dealt with anxieties about war and peace, and promulgated promises of emancipation from the international rivalries of this period. The rapidity of communication, the complexity of modern commerce and the interdependencies it created stimulated confidence and optimism in people about international harmony. The optimism of the age is obvious in the speech of the British ambassador to the United States at a banquet held in 1868 in honour of the inventor of the telegraph, Samuel Morse, "the telegraph wire,

the nerve of international life, transmitting knowledge of events, removing causes of misunderstanding, and promoting peace and harmony throughout the world" (Standage 1999: quoted by Hoberman 2004: 179).

In this 'age of optimism', Coubertin wanted to increase public interest in Olympism and, for that reason, he convinced the USFSA that a Congress should be held about the issue of amateurism, a centre of several debates at that time. He never directly advocated the rebirth of the Olympic Games, but his aim was to strengthen USFSA's internal organisation, to broaden its influence in French provinces and mostly to establish relations with foreign unions, by raising the issue of amateurism (Hill 1992). In this congress in Paris (1894), which counts as the first Olympic Congress (Müller 1994), Coubertin announced his idea of reviving the Olympic Games, as means of resolving international confrontations and maintaining world peace.

We must uphold the noble and chivalrous character of athleticism, which has distinguished it in the past, so that it may continue effectively to play the admirable role in the education of modern peoples that was attributed to it by the Greek masters. [...] Reform is necessary, but before it is implemented that reform must be discussed. [...] The project mentioned in the last paragraph, should it come to fruition, would mean appropriately sanctioning the international understanding for which we hope to pave the way. The time for its implementation has not yet come. The restoration of the Olympic Games, on foundations and under conditions that are in keeping with the needs of modern life, would bring together representatives of the nations of the world every four years. It may be hoped that these peaceful, courteous confrontations are the best form of internationalism. (Coubertin 1894c: lines 27 – 37)

Many scholars (Kidd 1996; MacAloon 1996; Hoberman 1986; 1995; 2004) argue that Coubertin's revival of the Olympic Games aimed at revitalising French society, but also at reducing the imperialist rivalries of the European powers and the growing likelihood of war. In the late nineteenth century internationalism and cosmopolitanism emerged as popular trends based on trans-national or global cooperation. The nineteenth-century 'Manchester liberals' Richard Cobden (1804-65) and John Bright (1811-89) sanctioned cosmopolitanism in advocating free trade, hoping that it would promote international understanding and economic interdependence, limiting the possibilities of a new war.

'Cosmopolitanism' basically refers to the notion of a cosmopolis or 'world state', and thus implies the elimination of national identities and the establishment of a common political adherence of entire humanity. However, the term is used more to describe

the efforts toward peace and harmony based upon the principles of mutual understanding, toleration and, above all, inter-dependence (Heywood 2002). 'Internationalism' also refers to international understanding, but it is rooted in universalist assumptions about human nature that puts it in conflict with political nationalism (that is political identity shaped by nationality). It can take the form of 'liberal internationalism', which is grounded in individualism and is reflected in the belief that universal human rights should transcend the sovereign authority of the nation. It can also take the form of 'socialist internationalism' (or proletarian internationalism), which is based on the belief of international class solidarity and follows the assumptions of a common humanity (Heywood 2002). Coubertin has often referred to the new tendencies of cosmopolitanism and internationalism, which both were seen as result of the modern conditions (especially of the rapidity of communication). With respect to cosmopolitanism, he argued that it "was on the rise in all quarters. The intoxication of speed was beginning to have its effects, and people were already repeating that clever and stupid expression, *Time is Money*" (Coubertin 1929: lines 97 - 102). In relation to internationalism, he developed in several writings his own understanding of the concept, always emphasising that it did not contradict or undermine national sovereignty.

Gentlemen, there are two trends in modern athletics to which I would like to draw your attention. It is becoming democratic and international. Its social revolution which has now been achieved among men - and which might be achieved in terms of things as well - explains the first of these characteristics; the speed of transportation and the frequency of communications explain the second [...] I might say the same regarding internationalism, understood of course as respect for, not destruction of, native countries. It is a trend that grew out of the deep need for peace and fraternity arising from the depths of the human heart. Peace has become a sort of religion, its altars surrounded day after day by an increasing number of faithful. (Coubertin 1894d: lines 313 - 326)

MacAloon (1981) argues that Coubertin's conception of internationalism did not share the euphoric optimism that was evident in this period, but followed a more rational approach. He notes that Coubertin's notion of international harmony "was fundamentally rationalistic; war and peace were matters of knowledge and ignorance" (p.262). Coubertin often mentioned that the introduction of the subject of 'World History' in schools would increase awareness among different peoples and cultures, and thus would resolve many international rivalries. Additionally, in support of MacAloon's argument, the next quotation provides evidence that international harmony might have been a matter of 'knowledge' for Coubertin.

Gentlemen, this is the order of ideas from which I intend to draw the elements of moral strength that must guide and protect the renaissance of athletics. Healthy democracy and wise and peaceful internationalism will make their way into the new stadium. There they will glorify the honour and selflessness that will enable athletics to carry out its task of moral betterment and social peace, as well as physical development. That is why every four years the restored Olympic Games must provide a happy and fraternal meeting place for the youth of the world, a place where, gradually, the ignorance of each other in which people live will disappear. This ignorance perpetuates ancient hatreds, increases misunderstandings, and precipitates such barbaric events as fights to the finish. (Coubertin 1894d: lines 336 - 350)

The rapidity of communication due to the advancement of telegraphic technology over the second half of the nineteenth century, as already mentioned, marked a significant quickening of the pace of globalisation. During this period, international finance became so interdependent and intermingled with trade and industry that political and military power seemed to be overshadowed. Of course, the outbreak of the First World War dismantled this optimism, and raised concerns about the maintenance of world peace. These purely modern conditions of world interconnectedness, free trade and foreign investments created a whole new situation, which was essentially different from the ancient (Beinart 1997). Thus, the modern Olympic Games would share some basic principles with the ancient event and philosophy, but would be reinvented and adjusted to modern international society.

Wishing to revive not so much the form but the very principle of this millennial institution, because I felt it would give my country and mankind as a whole the educational stimulus they needed, I had to try and restore the powerful buttresses that had supported it in the past: the intellectual buttress, the moral buttress and, to a certain extent, the religious buttress. To which the modern world added two new forces: technical improvements and democratic internationalism. (Coubertin 1997: lines 31 – 57)

The revival of modern Olympic Games was part and extension of Coubertin's plans for an educational reform. Therefore, it reflects both his national and international interests. Being traumatised by the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war, Coubertin offered a formula for making French youth more robust, healthy and physically fit. However, Coubertin, as an internationalist, perceived sport as a 'pacifier', a means for enhancing peace in the world and fighting controversy (Hoberman 1986: p.34). Hence, his ideal of Olympism has been a synthesis of supposed ancient Greek practices and nineteenth century British sporting ideas, internationalism and peace (Toohey and Veal 2000; Parry 1994). Further discussion

about the major ideological strands of Olympism is accommodated in the next section.

5.3.2 Ideological Components of Olympism

The revival of the modern Olympic Games and the emergence of the ideology of Olympism should be examined against the socio-political background of nineteenth-century continental Europe. Modern societies began to emerge in Europe from about the fifteenth century, but *modernity*, in the sense of a complex and distinct form of social life in modern societies, became identified with the Enlightenment project of eighteenth century (Stuart *et al.* 1992). It was enunciated by different historical processes on a number of levels: the political (the rise of the secular state and polity), the economic (free trade, capitalist economy), the social (formation of classes), and the cultural (transition from religious to secular culture). In the nineteenth century, modernity is signalled by industrialism and the broad social, economic, and cultural changes associated with it (Hall *et al.* 1992). With the growth of industrialisation, traditional agrarian society broke down and new social classes based on factory production were formulated.

After several decades of political, industrial and demographic revolution, which ended the eighteenth century and began the nineteenth, Europe became dominated by a different kind of political conflict. The political conflicts between dynasties or emerging nation-states were replaced by the conflicts between social classes for the exercise of political authority and power. Against the traditional aristocratic ruling class appeared the new classes of manufacturers, traders and financiers, the so-called 'bourgeois' on the one hand as well as the still unorganised urban workers on the other (Bowen 1989). The newly emerged 'ruling class' of the nineteenth century included "the higher offices of the royal court, the established church, the army and navy, the judiciary, parliament and the bureaucracy. Included were the masters of university colleges and headmasters of the major public schools" (Bowen 1989: 162). The first International Olympic Committee (IOC), composed at the 1894 International Athletic Congress in Paris, consisted of fourteen men, all members of the ruling class. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century, given the lack of advanced communication technology and the slowness and high

costs of international travel, any attempt to establish an organisation with international scope may be seen as a remarkable achievement. The IOC, an organisation which in principle resisted any government subvention and national interference, could not have succeeded unless its members were independently wealthy and had plenty of leisure time to devote to the project (Leiper 1976). Thus, male members of royal, aristocratic and upper class elites from around the western world dominated the IOC membership. Toohey and Veal (2000) argue that,

Such individuals would not have readily thought in terms of democratic or participatory processes; neither would they have travelled third class or stayed in two stars hotels. Out of their own pockets, they established an IOC 'style' which was an extension of their own privileged lifestyles, and which has been slow to change. (p. 41)

It was Coubertin, however, who determined the composition of the governing body. He was cautious wishing the IOC to be as politically independent as possible. To achieve that goal, the members were asked to be ambassadors from the committee to their respective countries (Guttman 1992). He regularly emphasised,

People ask now and then why the members of the International Committee are not regular delegates nominated by the leading athletic organisation of each country. Indeed they are not. The privilege of the committee nominating its own members is essential. They act in their respective countries rather as 'ambassadors' of the committee, and if I use such an expression, as 'the trustees of the Olympic Idea'. Their independence and stability answer for the great work achieved by the committee. (Coubertin 1908b: p. 736)

However, Coubertin's influential role in the composition of the IOC often raised criticisms.

It has been believed and said – it was an easy way to cast aspersions on us – that they [i.e. the IOC members] had all been 'appointed' by me. Nothing was further from the truth. Only one of all those I have mentioned had been my personal candidate. Elections have always been held regularly, but the actual choice was always preceded by long investigations, sometimes by direct correspondence with the person involved. (Coubertin 1997d: lines 46 – 51)

Conversely, Coubertin contradicts himself, when he admits that the IOC membership was often awarded to personal friends.

I have the programme of the 1894 Congress here before me as I write, in two distinct versions between which lies a space of some ten months. At the head, an immovable trinity composed of three members: C. Herbert, Secretary of the Amateur

Athletic Association (London), for Great Britain and the British Empire; W. M. Sloane, professor at the University of Princeton, for the American continent; and myself, for France and continental Europe. *This unusual geography was intended to simplify propaganda for me.* My two colleagues had accepted *mainly in order to please me.* (Coubertin 1997q: lines 251 - 262)

The members were selected for their wealth, social status, and geographical sphere of influence. Coubertin emphasised that it was the individual that mattered, not the country. Therefore, since the members were expected not only to pay their own travel expenses but also to contribute to the costs of the IOC, most of them were quite affluent.

All, or almost all of them, were sportsmen in the real sense of the word, in keeping with the idea I had formed from the very beginning, that is to say men competent enough to be able to get to the bottom of any particular question, but far enough removed from any exclusive specialisation ever to become its slaves, men international enough not to be blinded in any international question by their strictly national prejudices, men - finally - capable of holding their own with technical groups and who could be counted on to be completely free of any material dependence upon the latter. (Coubertin 1997d: lines 27 - 43)

All in all, the IOC was an influential group and influence was needed for the promotion of Olympism and the success of the Olympic Games. In achieving this goal and maintaining support from the elites, Coubertin linked Olympism with prestigious themes, equal to their prominent social position in Europe.

What lasting undertaking can be founded on the basis of fashion? It was to buttress the fragile structure that I had just built that the restoration of the Olympic Games - this time on a completely international footing - seemed to me the only timely solution. The only way to ensure any relative long-term survival of the athletic renaissance then still in its infancy was to superimpose the immense prestige of antiquity on the passing fad of Anglomania, thereby undercutting, to some extent, any opposition from the students of classicism, and to impose on the world a system whose fame spread beyond all national borders. The rising tide of cosmopolitanism, which constituted a threat, had to be turned into a rampart and a safeguard. (Coubertin 1929: lines 131 - 144)

First, Olympism was associated with Hellenism and the ancient Greek values of body, mind and spirit, which had been re-invented in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. Hellenism, harking back to the origins of Europe, represented a binding power for Europe's unity and authority (Bowen 1989). Second, Olympism shared values with English athleticism, which had been identified as a central component of the national ideology of Anglo-Saxonism, and had been related to the nineteenth-century pre-eminence of the British Empire. The doctrine of imperialism had

successfully been developed by the late Victorian visionaries who introduced to the 'under-privileged' peoples of the world the spirit of chivalry, fair play and good government through a games-playing code. An eclectic approach to Olympism, which combined the values of the re-invented nineteenth-century Hellenism, and the principles of the popular British 'imperial' athleticism, could not have failed to appeal to the high-status governing body of the IOC and its adherents.

Hellenism, Ruling Class and Prestige of Antiquity

Neo-classicism in Britain and France, and Romanticism in Germany brought ancient Greece to the fore of the European thought (Grafton 1992; Prevelakis 2002). Europe in the early nineteenth century valued classical antiquity to such an extent that historians refer to this affinity as a kind of 'Hellenic madness' (Held 1999). The Hellenic influence in Britain is reflected in the following quotation.

The ideal - so pure and so practical, so divine and yet so human - that was the keystone of the Greek system was perfectly designed to captivate the English when they began to link great destinies in the beyond to the clear, simple meaning of life. This is not a rare occurrence with them, this twofold perspective, eyes cast down on the ground yet lost in the heavens, this double current that causes them to seek rest from their business activities in reading Plutarch and Homer. (Coubertin 1890g: lines 76 - 97)

It was emphasised that the study of antiquity would provide the means to attain that unity of body, mind and soul (the threefold harmony of Hellenism), of community and individual, the Greek ideal of humanity. In similar vein, Coubertin emphasised that full human self-realisation would follow from the encounter with the culture of classical antiquity which transcends modern formations of society.

My faith in Hellenism, in its future, and in its continued fruitfulness has grown ever more firm over the past forty years. At the eventide of my journey, I see clearly – for evenings are known for their final, brief, but intense clarity – that above and beyond all forms of government, economic organisations, and diplomatic understandings – above all else, one might say – must reign that threefold harmony first outlined in Hellenism. (Coubertin 1934d: lines 16 - 35)

The effects of classicism were evidenced in education where the sons of the 'ruling class' were sent to schools in which the classical studies of Hellenism, Latin and Roman studies were embraced. Although class conflicts were taking place mainly on

an economic basis, ideologies, which would guide and inform the new classes, were equally important. Thus, the struggle for power was apparent in Europe's private or boarding schools where the pupils were moulded to become the next generation of the ruling class through the teachings of ancient Greek civilisation. Bowen (1989) attributes this 'wholehearted embracing' of Hellenism to the "the new and powerful role that Hellenism offered in the ideological maintenance of the ruling class" (p. 162). Hellenism and Olympism were linked together at the Conference in Paris (1894), where the audience consisted of representatives of the ruling class across Europe. Such linkage opened ways of communication with the addressees and heightened the possibilities for success of the new project.

A subtle feeling of emotion spread through the auditorium as if the antique eurhythmy were coming to us from the distant past. In this way, Hellenism infiltrated into the whole vast hall. From this moment, the Congress was destined to succeed. I knew that now, whether consciously or not, *no one would vote against the revival of the Olympic Games*. (Coubertin 1997q: lines 464 – 475, emphasis added)

Later in the same year, speaking to the literary society in Athens, Coubertin recalled his delegates listening to choirs singing the hymn to Apollo, unearthed at Delphi.

Then in a sacred hush, for the first time in two thousand years choirs sang the hymn to Apollo unearthed at Delphi. The effect was deeply moving. In one of those mysterious glimpses that music sometimes gives us of lost worlds, for a few seconds those gathered at Paris perceived Greek antiquity in all its splendour. From that moment on, Gentlemen, the Greek genius was among us, transforming a modest congress on athletic sports into a quest for moral betterment and social peace. My goal had been achieved. (Coubertin 1894d: lines 15 - 30)

European enchantment with Greek antiquity drove Coubertin to associate an international sports competition for the purposes of social and educational reform with the ancient Olympic Games and the values of Hellenism.

Of all measures tending to this desired end, only one seemed to me at all practicable, namely the establishment of a periodical contest, to which sporting societies of all nationalities would be invited to send their representatives, and to place these meetings under the only patronage which could throw over them a hallow of greatness and glory: "The patronage of Classical Antiquity"! To do that, was to re-establish the "Olympic Games". That name forced itself upon us, it was not even possible to invent another one. (Coubertin 1896b: lines 103 - 110)

Tomlinson (2004) underscores the point that Coubertin, in an attempt to fulfil his grandiose plans, "excelled at hyperbole, hailing his 1894 Congress in Paris as the

moment when a 2,000-year-old idea was restirred" (p. 148). By associating the modern Olympic Games with the ancient tradition of Hellenism, Coubertin claimed continuity and expansion of impact and importance of the Olympic Movement and Games. Throughout his writings, Coubertin has emphasised the perpetuity of classical Greek antiquity by using expressions such as: 'immortal Hellas' (Coub1908c: lines 115-121; 1927a: lines 83-85), 'Hellenism's immortal glory' (Coubertin 1929: lines 167-172) and 'eternal Hellenism' (Coubertin 1936b: lines 53-60). In this way, past, present and future were bridged through the event of the Olympic Games, ensuring the longevity of Olympism across time.

I rejoice that I have been given the opportunity to begin preaching the second part of the Gospel of Sport among a Hellenic community, as I did the first in times past, and that I thus have the opportunity once more to place my endeavour under the patronage of that civilizing force whose past merits every honour and whose future deserves every confidence - Hellenism. (Coubertin 1918j: lines 29 – 34)

Europe, during and after the Enlightenment, was transformed by the dynamics of modernity driving social, political, and economic change. Modernity's dislocations could be seen in the divergences and antagonisms noted by the European intellectuals: antagonisms of nature and culture, life and intellect, individual and citizen. However, in light of such radical discontinuities with the past, a dialectic relation with it, particularly with Greek antiquity, was established (Held 1999). Similarly, Coubertin appears to re-locate the ancient Greek tradition in the modern era.

Hellenism again! We used to believe that Hellenism was a thing of the past, a dead notion, impossible to revive and inapplicable to current conditions. This is wrong. Hellenism is part of the future. Its philosophy of life is suitable for and adaptable to modern existence. That is why sport is such an essential element in modern progress. (Coubertin 1938: lines 323-333)

Nonetheless, it is argued that the single line of development Greece-Rome-Europe is a conceptual by-product of the Euro-centric interpretation of modernity. An examination of the different dimensions of this argument follows next.

Hellenism, Modernity and Eurocentrism

With its Hellenic past as a cradle of civilisation and democracy, Greece is associated with the origins of Europe. However, the original mythological Europe (daughter of a Phoenician king) originates from the Orient and bears little resemblance to the modern Europe, which is situated to the north and west of Greece and was simply considered by the ancient Greeks as uncivilized, non-political and non-human. Dussel (2002) argues,

What became modern Europe lay beyond Greece's horizon and therefore could not in any way coincide with the originary (sic) Greece [...] By stating this I am trying to emphasise that the unilineal diachrony Greece-Rome-Europe is an ideological construct that can be traced back to late-eighteenth-century German romanticism (p. 465).

Its Romeic past – the past of the Eastern Roman Empire, of Orthodox Christianity and of Ottoman Rule – as well as its geographical location keeps Greece in the periphery of modern Europe, 'tainting' her modernity with an Eastern character (Soysal and Antoniou 2000). In the late nineteenth century and after the Greek War of independence, the question of how to define the Greek nation in a post-classical, post-Byzantine and post-Ottoman period had emerged. The debate was transformed into a socio-political and ideological conflict between the liberal ideas of Enlightenment of the West and the Orthodox tradition in the East. The outcome was to create a synthesis of classical Hellenism and Byzantine Christianity, which was called 'Helleno-Christianity' and was used as a term to describe the historical and cultural continuity of ancient Greece, through Byzantium, into modern Greece (Molokotos-Liederman 2004). However, Coubertin links ancient Greece and the Byzantine period with modern Europe, emphasising the need to maintain such bonds with the past for the best interests of Europe and the wider world.

No one wanted to see the link between antiquity, what was called the Byzantine period, and the unexpected modern era that was dawning. But today, those on the forefront and the least well informed alike are beginning to understand the power of Greek unity, and how the rising sap of present-day Hellenism is similar to that of former times. *Europe and the world need that sap! May it rise, may it be fruitful, and may it be intoxicating! Zito Ellas!* (Coubertin 1929: lines 287 – 304, emphasis added)

The dichotomised role of Greece in world history can be interpreted through an examination of the two concepts of modernity. The first concept is Eurocentric,

localised and provincial. In Europe, this process took place mainly during the eighteenth century. The temporal and spatial dimensions of this phenomenon were described by Hegel and analysed by Habermas in his classic work on modernity (1988). Habermas' narrative, broadly embraced by contemporary European tradition, posits, "The key historical events for the creation of the principle of [modern] subjectivity are the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution" (p. 27). Other cultural processes that are added to this sequence are the Italian Renaissance, the German Reformation and the establishment of the English Parliament. Similarly, Coubertin lays emphasis on events that mainly happened in Europe or were controlled by Europe (e.g. African colonialism).

Gentlemen, in the long series of events that have astonished the nineteenth century, from the brilliant era that marked its beginnings to the great social upheaval that is troubling its waning years, there have been three events to which the adjective 'marvellous' can be applied. We have seen Germany and Italy become unified, we have seen the Republic of United States grow in a colossal way, and we have seen the light of civilisation shine on the vast continent of Africa. (Coubertin 1894d: lines 592 - 603)

Dussel (2000) labels this perspective 'Eurocentric', "for it indicates intra-European phenomena as the starting point of modernity and explains its later development without making recourse to anything outside Europe" (pp. 469-70). Even when Coubertin refers to civilisations outside Europe, his perspective is always in relation to the West.

In terms of Japan, a great people believed frozen in the depths of an ancient civilisation has suddenly been rejuvenated, and has entered lock, stock and barrel, so to speak, into the complicated existence of the western world. (Coubertin 1894d: lines 616 - 621)

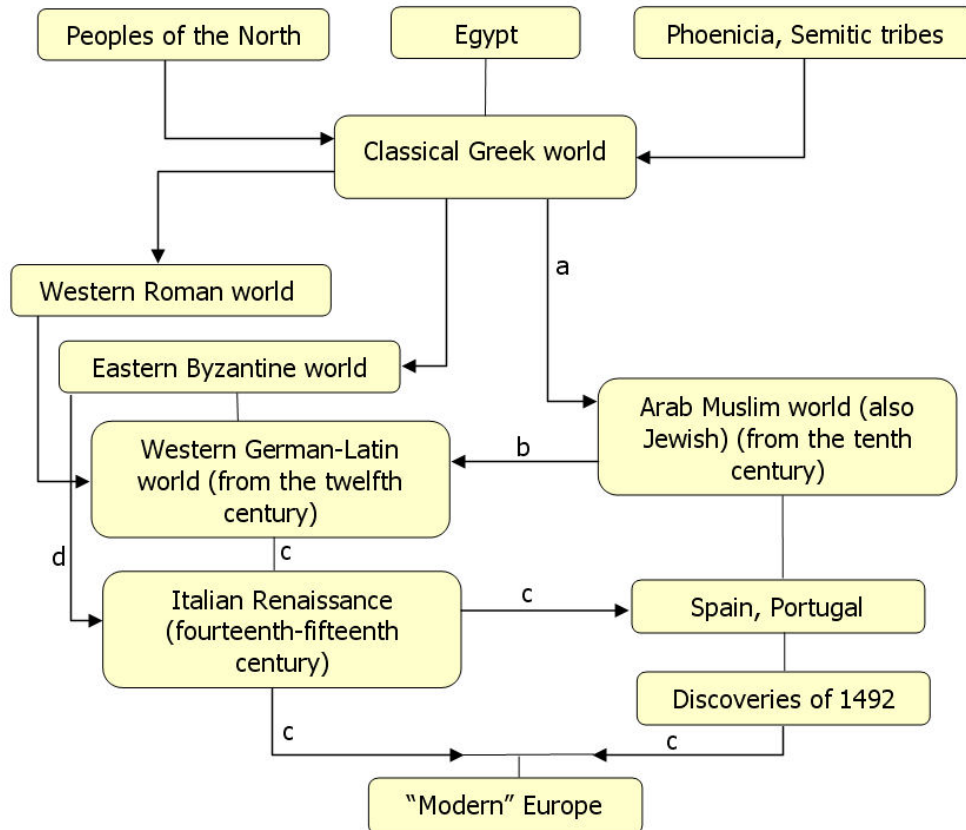
King (1995) argues that 'modern' and especially 'modernism', 'modernity' and 'modernist' are terms and concepts mainly used to describe particular movement and tendencies in the arts, mainly in Europe and the USA, making no reference to the world system as a whole. Giddens (1990) also refers to modernity as a time period with specific geographical locations, "modernity refers to modes of social life organisation, which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century" (p. 1). In this view of modernity, a direct link of classical Greece with modern Europe was assumed. The Eurocentric position – first formulated at the end of the eighteenth century by the French and English Enlightenment and the German Romantics-

reinterpreted all of world history, "projecting Europe into the past and attempting to show that everything that happened before had led to Europe's becoming, in Hegel's (1955: 235) words, 'the end and centre of world history'" (Dussel 2000: 222).

Conversely, a second view on modernity takes into consideration a world perspective, dismissing the position of the 'modern West' and the 'other' or 'traditional rest' (Preston 2000). This view posits the fact that there was not world history in an empirical sense before 1492, as this date marks (at least for Wallerstein) the beginning of the world-system (with the Portuguese expansion and the discovery of America by Spain) (Wallerstein 1974; cited in Dussel 2000: 470). During what might be described, from a Eurocentric perspective, as the first stage of modernity, which began in the fifteenth century, Spain may be seen as the first 'modern' nation due to the following characteristics: it had a state that unified the peninsula, a top-down national consensus created by the Inquisition, a national military power, one of the first articulated grammars and the subordination of the church to the state. Modern European powers of England and France replace Spain and Portugal as the hegemonic powers in the 'second stage of modernity', that of the eighteenth century industrial revolution and the Enlightenment.

Within the world perspective of modernity, the Hellenic-Greek identity is differentiated from the modern European, without drawing a linear development from classical Greece to Latin Europe (Figure 5.1). The West consisted of the territories of the Roman Empire where Latin was spoken (the eastern border of which was the area between present-day Croatia and Serbia) and thus included the north of Africa. The West was opposed to the East, the Greek Empire, which spoke Greek and consisted of Greece and Asia (the Anatolia province) and the Hellenist kingdoms.

Figure 5.1 A simplified model of the relationship between Hellenic and other cultural/civilisation influences. *Note:* There is no direct Greek influence on western Latin Europe (it is mediated by both arrows **a** and **b**). There is also no direct link between, either sequence of, **c** of modern Europe and Greece, or the Byzantine world (arrow **d**), but there is a direct link with the western Christian Latin-Roman world. (Adopted by Dussel 2000: 467)



Prevelakis (2004) argues that during the Ottoman period, the Greek-speaking Christians derived their identity mostly from their religious belonging and not from the classical Hellenes, who were a community of the past, whose significance was re-interpreted by the classicists of western Europe. Interestingly, for the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church the term 'Greeks' referred to the Orthodox Christians, who were often accused of having kept elements of ancient Greek paganism. After the Fall of Constantinople, 'Greeks' carried similar negative connotations to 'Muslims' for some radical Catholics who saw them as schismatic Christians. Metallinos (1995), a Greek theologian, emphasises the centrality of religion in the formation of the modern Greek identity, an element which was completely ignored by the western classicists and Romantics when they re-invented Hellenism in modern Europe.

Our *a priori* identification with Europe is a mistake. It is a mistake to believe that European culture and our culture are identical and equal. It is not an alliance, a simple socio-political connection with mutual relations. It is a total induction to a new framework of living [...] Europe took ancient Hellenism and altered it within its own standards. Ancient Hellenism is not even preserved within European culture. The Renaissance managed to attain to neither the Hellenic, nor the Roman era, because there was no continuity. The Renaissance was not created by the Romaic people of the West, but by the Franco-German conquerors. *European Man bears no relation whatsoever to ancient man; he has nothing of the relations preserved by the Holy Fathers and Mothers of our Church.* (www.romanity.org/mir/me04en.htm, author's emphasis)

Coubertin, being aware of the dichotomy between East and West, once noted,

From now on, let us let Hellenism do as it pleases. It has numbers, the prestige of history, and the excellence of biology on its side. No other Eastern people has such prerogatives to the world's confidence (Coubertin 1906h: lines 10 – 12)

Leaving to one side the issue of Coubertin's biological racism, a point to which we shall return later, the problematic identification of modern Greeks with Europe and their hesitance to see themselves involved in the European project of the modern Olympic Games had concerned Coubertin, who tried to persuade them that their interests would not clash with the interests of Europe.

People have asked whether it is appropriate to have an international competition held in Athens at a time when Greece is in a rather anomalous position with respect to certain European powers [...] Here Europe is intervening once again to seek your gratitude. It seems that Europe has done everything, and truly when one recalls how late its cooperation was and with what poor grace it provided that cooperation, Europe's claims seem a bit ridiculous in retrospect. I am well aware that you have a Lord Byron, a Santa-Rosa, and a Fabvier to console you for the ingratitude and indifference of governments. Thanks to them, you can forgive the Austrians for having provided supplies to the Turks, the Lord Commissioners of the Seven Islands for having persecuted your Ionian brothers. (Coubertin 1894d: pp. 539-540)

The 'discontinuity' from classical Hellenism to modern Europe, reconstructed by the European classicists and Romantics as 'continuity' and with no references to the linear development from ancient Hellas to modern Helleno-Christianity, may be seen as Euro-centric argument which served national and European interests. Interestingly, Coubertin always emphasised the centrality of internationalism in the revival of modern Games, as opposed to the ancient games, "which had an exclusively Hellenic character; they were always held in the same place, and Greek blood was a necessary condition of admission to them" (Coubertin 1896c: 5 – 7).

He argued,

The International Committee, which is at times reproached for having too aristocratic a membership, is certainly more democratic in its procedures. It seeks to spread athleticism throughout the world without cataloguing races; it does not limit the recruitment of its members to Europe and America. Japan is represented on it. China and Siam will be represented soon, regardless of the fact that those countries are not very open to sports. It is quite likely that they will open up to sports eventually. (Coubertin 1913e: lines 9 – 18)

Nonetheless, Coubertin understands and interprets internationalism from a Eurocentric standpoint, which manifests the centrality of the West in the Olympic Movement.

The work [of the Olympic Games] must be lasting, to exercise over the sports of the future that necessary and beneficent influence for which I look - an influence which shall make them the means of *bringing to perfection the strong and hopeful youth of our white race*, thus again helping towards the perfection of all human society. (Coubertin 1908d: lines 214 – 224, emphasis added)

Therefore, it may also be argued that Coubertin's internationalism was never cosmopolitan but it was tied to the origins of racially exclusive European humanism (Carrington 2004). Evidence of such racial exclusivity is also the distinction Coubertin makes between the Greek race and other 'Eastern' races, "The Greek race, however, is free from the natural indolence of the Oriental, and it was manifested that the athletic habit, if the opportunity be offered, would easily take root again among its men" (Coubertin 1896c: p 359). Modern Greece was often seen as part of the East, but being associated with the origins of Europe through its classical past, it gave her advantage over other 'Eastern' nations "No other Eastern people has such prerogatives to the world's confidence" (Coubertin 1906h: lines 11 – 12).

From Hellenism to Anglo-Saxonism: An Alternative Source of Legitimacy

Coubertin, at the 1894 Congress in Paris turned to Greece and his personal friend Dimitrios Vikelas (whose name can also be transliterated as Bikelas) for help concerning the revival of the first modern Olympic Games. The decision was taken for the first Modern Olympic Games to be held in Athens in 1896 and an emphasis on Hellenism was imposed. However, Coubertin's relationship with the Greeks had been very unsettled due to political manoeuvres of the Greek government. Finally, a

compromise was reached when it was decided that the first Olympic Games should be in Athens in 1896 and the second in Paris in 1900. However, the choice of Athens was unfortunate, as, after a decade of extreme instability from 1869 to 1879, Greece was politically and financially weak (Lucas 1981; Toohey and Veal 2000). For these reasons, the government opposed hosting the event, and the Greek Etienne Dragoumis, a member of the Zappeion Commission, suggested that the Athens Games should be held in 1900, the beginning of a new century and the year of organising the World Exhibition in Paris (Hill 1992). Tricoupis, the Greek prime minister, had a strong argument against the Olympic Games believing that the financial state of Greece would not be able to bare the heavy economic burden of the Olympic Games. Finally, after several negotiations the Games were held in Athens.

Krüger (1999) argues that Coubertin had planned the first Olympics to be held in Paris in 1900 as part of the World Fair, with the Greeks coming to Paris to 'claim' the international Olympic Games as theirs. However, such an argument seems to wane when one reads the following:

As to the choice of Athens and the date of 1896, this did not fit in at all with my original plan for the reason that, underestimating like most of my contemporaries the youthful strength of the recently resuscitated Greece, I did not think she was capable of coping with the inauguration of world's sports championships. At one time I had thought of inaugurating the Games in Paris in the first year of the 20th century, as I explained in the *Revue de Paris* dated 15th June 1894, doing everything possible to 'steep in Hellenism' the celebration of the Games. A number of conversations with D. Bikelas, whose friendship had charmed me right from the start, led me to change my opinion. For his part, he wanted them to be held in Greece *but at the same time hesitated before the responsibility of involving his country in such an adventure. We encouraged each other and Athens was selected to the accompaniment of wild applause.* (Coubertin 1997q: p. 320, emphasis added)

Coubertin, as Krüger (1999) correctly notes, had different original plans about the host city of the first Olympic Games, but there does not appear any specific evidence of nationalist claims of the Greeks about the paternity of the first modern Games at this point. This happened later, when, as a result of the success of the Games, King George of Greece and other Greek officials had warmed to the idea of holding the modern Games in Greece on a permanent basis, an idea that Coubertin opposed strongly.

The group formed by the IOC on either side of the Crown Prince represented the perennial nature of the enterprise and the international character I was determined to preserve at all costs. All around us resounded the nationalistic fervour of the Greeks intoxicated by the idea of seeing Athens become the permanent home of the Games, acting as host every four years to this flattering and profitable influx of visitors. (Coubertin 1997i: p. 330)

In his efforts to promote the permanent Olympic Games in Greece, Timoleon Philemon, a former mayor of Athens and secretary-general of the reconstituted organising committee of Athens Games, had the full support of new Prime Minister Deligiannes and the royal family. MacAloon (1981) argues that at the King's banquet and at the prize ceremony Coubertin was treated as just "another face in the crowd" (cited in Guttmann 1992: 19). Lucas (1981) also argues that Coubertin's name was absent from official Olympic bulletins, royal proclamations and the Greek press. When Coubertin claimed to have been involved in the organisation of the Olympic Games, one Athenian newspaper condemned him as "a thief seeking to rob Greece of her inheritance" (cited in Guttmann 1992: 19). Furthermore, Young (1996) claims that Coubertin did not provide much help to the Greeks during the preparation of the Games, and he belittled the contributions of Vikelas, seeking all the credit for himself. This is explicit in his introduction to the booklet for the revival of the Games,

I claim its paternity with raised voice and I would like to thank once more here those who assisted me to bring it into well-being; those, who together with me, think that athletics will emerge greater and ennobled and that international youth will draw from it the love and peace and respect for life (quoted by Hill 1992: 26).

Moreover, Coubertin sent a letter of complaint to the editor of the *Times* (July 9, 1908), when they attributed the success of the Games to his joint actions with the Greek Averoff (responsible for the re-construction of Panathenaikos Stadium of Athens). He emphasised,

I completely fail to see how my plans could have been in any way influenced by Mr. Averoff's decision to reconstruct the Athenian stadium, since when Mr. Averoff decided to undertake this reconstruction, the International Congress *which I had called* forth had already met at Paris Sorbonne (1894) and the revival of the games had already been decided [...] It was that same Paris Congress that chose Athens as the seat of the first Olympiad of 1896; *a marble stadium did not seem at all necessary to make the games a success.* (Coubertin 1908b: pp. 735-6, emphasis added)

Coubertin's zeal for self-promotion and also his fear that the Greeks might succeed in placing the Games under their patronage seem to be the main reasons that caused him annoyance for the association by the press of a Greek with the success of 1896 Athens Games. It is worth quoting the reply by the editor of the *Times* (July 13, 1908: 23), who remarks that although Coubertin complained of 'a great many mistakes',

He refers only in one single instance to any alleged error in the article which he criticises. We did not say that his plans for reviving the Olympic Games were influenced by Mr Averoff's decision to reconstruct the Athenian stadium, or that M. Averoff's decision preceded the International Congress at which the revival was decided upon. *We merely observed that it was a combination of M. De Coubertin's plans with M. Averoff's work which rendered the first Olympic Games at Athens a success.* The remainder of this letter deals with matters of opinion. (quoted by Müller 2000: p. 736, emphasis added)

It would seem that Coubertin wanted to disassociate himself, and the Olympic Games, from the Greeks, at least until the success of his project was secured. In this uneasy atmosphere, Coubertin felt angry and annoyed with the attitude of the Greeks, and appeared more distant and diplomatic, especially concerning the permanency of the Olympic Games on Greek ground.

Above all I had to hold out against the King, whose speech at the final banquet, [which was] attended by all the athletes, had faced me with the famous dilemma: whether to give in or to resign. I had already decided to do neither. But, on the other hand, resistance on such an occasion was hardly possible. I decided to act as if I were stupid, pretending not to understand. I decided to ignore the King's speech on the pretext of ambiguity; speaking half in Greek, half in French, he had not used identical terms when repeating his proposal to fix the permanent headquarters of the Games in Athens [...] And the very evening the Games closed, I sent the King a public letter thanking him, as well as the town of Athens and the Greek people, for the energy and the brilliance with which, by their support and their action, the call made on them in 1894 had been answered. In it, I clearly specified the continuation of the scheme and the perennality of the International Committee by alluding to the Games of the second Olympiad which would be held in Paris...The letter was short and to the point. The German and the English versions appearing at the same time as the French, it became of little importance whether the Greek version was published too or not. (Coubertin 1997i: p. 332, emphasis added)

So serious was the situation that some IOC members thought that the IOC would have to disband (Hill 1992). Coubertin, in his *Olympic Memoirs* (1931), mentions that his letter to the King and his diplomatic manoeuvres against the Greek plans caused a situation which threatened the structure of the IOC.

The outward form [of the letter] was, of course, perfectly polite and courteous, in accordance with the demands of protocol, but the deed itself was nonetheless of a rare insolence. *The members of the Committee, who were for the most part staunchly monarchist, showed considerable alarm, for I had not consulted my colleagues or submitted anything in advance [...] However nothing happened. The IOC survived the test without resignations or even any cracks in its structure.* (Coubertin 1997i: p. 332, emphasis added)

In resolving the situation, Coubertin suggested that the Greeks should host the pan-Hellenic Games spaced between the Olympics, an idea that he did not particularly like but would temporarily stop the Greeks from claiming the modern Olympic Games as their own. Through this skilful compromise, Coubertin succeeded in drowning the Greek plans for permanent Games in Athens, and continued undisturbed with his own plans for international Games. The Greek officials and the King liked the idea, but it was destined to failure due to the difficulties of raising funds (Guttman 1992; Hill 1992).

The Greek committee, which had hoped to celebrate intermediate Games at the foot of Acropolis in 1910 – to which we would have extended our help as loyally as in 1906 – was obliged to give up the idea for lack of money, an economic crisis. From Athens we received an unofficial proposal to include the Athenian series in our own cycle: the Games would be celebrated every eight years in Greece, and every eight years in another country. It was impossible to agree to this proposal. It would have meant torpedoing our own work without any real benefit to anyone. International politics were far too uncertain for the choice of the venue for the Games to be fixed such a long time in advance. (Coubertin 1997h: lines 5 - 10)

Although Coubertin underlines above that, if the Greeks continued to hold the intermediate games, he would offer his help 'as loyally as in 1906', the next quote provides evidence that he was not content with the Greeks organising parallel games:

The fear of seeing the launching of this idea [including artistic programme in the Olympic Games] delayed once again made me decide to summon a 'Consultative Conference on Art, Letters and Sport' for the spring of 1906. *At the same time, I would be able to use this as an excuse for not going to Athens, a journey I particularly wished to avoid.* Even though we were now on very good terms with the Hellenic Committee, the reconciliation was a result more of a conscious effort on the part of both parties than of a serious alteration of our respective position. Finally, what name should be given to these 'additional Games in 1906'? How often should they be held? The idea of an intermediate four-year period, in which I had acquiesced without much conviction, was abandoned. In Athens, they were now thinking of ten-year interval, which would make these two series coincide in 1916...All this was very uncertain; the situation would always be a trifle delicate. *In any case, a great deal of friction and many difficulties were bound to arise during contests. It was best for everyone and for everything that I should not be there* (Coubertin 1997i: p. 621, emphasis added)

Guttmann (1992) argues, “an Olympic congress held at Le Havre scotched the Greek attempt to usurp the Games” (p. 21). In order to rescue the internationalism of his project and safeguard it from having a single-nation character, Coubertin turned away from the Greeks. At the 1897 Le Havre conference, Coubertin limited his emphasis on classical Hellenism, which had caused him trouble with the modern Greeks, and highlighted instead an alternative, but equally prestigious, source of inspiration for high values: Anglo-Saxonism.

The Le Havre Congress had to do without any help from Greece. The Greeks were fighting for the independence of Crete and the restoration of the legitimate frontiers, but fate proved hostile. Friends and enemies fighting in the service of their country had no time to turn their eyes towards Normandy. Therefore, the Hellenism that had permeated the atmosphere of the first Congress in 1894 started to fade before the influence of England, which was closer. It was to Arnold that we turned, more or less consciously, for inspiration. (Coubertin 1997p: lines 164 – 180, emphasis added)

As noted earlier in this chapter, Coubertin admired England, and saw in it the continuum of Hellenism, “the virtue of Greek formulae [was] perfected by Anglo-Saxon civilisation” (Coubertin 1918J: lines 183 - 197). By the middle of the nineteenth century the language and imagery of chivalry had been central in Victorian life. The notion of ‘gentleman’, inspired by noble and selfless values, represented a newer version of medieval chivalry, which was deliberately promoted by the Victorians in their effort to produce a ruling elite both for the nation and the expanding of Empire (Richards 2000). A wider public than the English upper classes applauded the emphasis on games in public school education. The English education system was the admiration of continental idealists. Several Frenchmen, in a survey of English (and Scottish) education in 1868 expressed respect for the games, as well as for the freedom and independence of the pupils in Public Schools. In 1876, the German Ludwig Wiese considered the conduct of English upper class youth ‘a pedagogic virtue’ and praised the way in which ‘the germ of manliness’ was cultivated (cited in Mangan 2000: 130). In 1897, Edward Demolins published a book entitled *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* (What is the reason for the superiority of Anglo-Saxons?), and appeared quite certain that the answer lay in the centrality of physical exercise in their schools (cited in Mangan 2000: 130).

Therefore, the emphasis on values of Anglo-Saxon civilisation at Le Havre Congress (1897) had a twofold purpose: to divert the emphasis from Hellenism to a different civilisation and safeguard the Games from the Hellenic nationalism which had arisen,

but also to use the rising 'Anglomania' for the best interests of the modern Olympic Games.

The only way to ensure any relative long-term survival of the athletic renaissance then still in its infancy was to superimpose the immense prestige of antiquity on the passing fad of Anglomania, thereby undercutting, to some extent, any opposition from the students of classicism, and to impose on the world a system whose fame spread beyond all national borders. (Coubertin 1929: lines 131 – 140)

5.4 Expansion of the Olympic Movement (1918-1937)

During the 1914-8 war, Coubertin moved the Olympic headquarters, and his own domicile, to Switzerland in order to ensure that the Olympics would survive the threat posed by this crisis of the western world (Krüger and Riordan 1999) since there was no enormous bureaucratic organisation to be repositioned, it was a fairly simple matter (Guttman 1992). As a result of the war, the 1916 Olympic Games, which were scheduled to be held in Berlin, were cancelled, and the structure of the IOC was challenged by the internal conflicts of its members. The problem of participation of the countries of the defeated powers emerged as a critical issue in the post-war period. Theodore Cook, a British member, demanded the expulsion of the German members, and when his request was not fulfilled, he resigned. It was difficult for the IOC to stage the Olympic Games of 1920, as most of the major western European countries were still coming to terms with the social, political and economic consequences of the war. In relation to the issue of who should participate, the solution was found in the formula initiated at the 1896 Olympic Games, according to which it was left to the organising committee of the host city to decide who should be invited to the Olympic Games. Therefore, the next organisers would not be instructed by the IOC to exclude any of the defeated powers, but they would be encouraged *not to invite them*. In this way, the Germans were not invited to the 1920 Antwerp and 1924 Paris Olympics (they re-appeared at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics).

The IOC's decision to revive the Olympic Games had been made in April 1919, allowing only one year for the national Olympic committees to make preparations. Since the German invasion of Belgium had been the cause that brought Britain into the war, the IOC decided that was symbolically important for the first post-war

Games to be staged in Antwerp (Guttman 1992), to provide “a symbolic revival of the Olympic Movement and its message from out of the killing fields of Flanders” (Roche 2000: 104). These first Olympic Games after the end of the First World War sought to reflect international unity and peace, which were to be demonstrated through new rituals, such as the five rings flag, the symbolic release of doves and the athletes’ oath (Roche 2000). Although Germany, Austria and its allies were not invited, the Games were very successful (Krüger 1999). Even if “everything had to be created from scratch” (Coubertin 1931: 157), the resumption of the Games after the First World War in the war-torn Belgium was evidence of the resilience of the Olympic Movement (Segrave and Chu 1988; Krüger 1999).

During the years 1912-1927, the Olympic Games grew in size and credibility. More than 2,500 athletes representing 28 nations competed in the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, and nearly 3,000 athletes from 44 countries gathered for the Paris Games of 1924 (Segrave and Chu 1988). In the inter-war period, the IOC established itself as the primary actor and authority in international sport. Increasingly impressive Olympic events were staged at Antwerp 1920, Paris 1924, Amsterdam 1928, Los Angeles 1932 and Berlin 1936, transforming the Olympic Movement into a significant international phenomenon. The development of transport and communication, particularly radio in the 1920s, created the potential for the organisation of international sport events on a broader basis. Moreover, after the First World War, the need for international peace and cultural exchange was felt more keenly. The disorganised character of pre-war international relations was seen as problematic, and new ways of international understanding and cooperation were put into practice. The IOC encouraged a close cooperation with the newly established League of Nations, an organisation that hoped to provide stability and security in international relations. Roche (2000) argues that the concepts of universalism and humanism were undermined by the IOC’s practices in this period, nonetheless an emphasis on such principles “made the movement’s international institution-building appear compatible and convergent with broader processes of international institution-building. Thus the IOC in this period was interested in associating itself with the League of Nations” (p. 108).

5.4.1 The Inter War Crisis: Alternative Olympics

Thus over the inter-war period, both popular and elite interest in international-level sport events increased. Nationalism in relation to sport escalated, and sport victories were used as a means to enhance national pride and prestige in the newly significant international world order. In the inter-war period, such interests were also expressed outside the Olympic Movement, and through the establishment of Olympic-type games events, often called 'Alternative Olympics'. These included: a) the 'military Olympics', sport contests between athletes of the Allies on the basis of internationalism and friendship (Inter-Allied Military 'Olympiads'), b) the 'workers' Olympics', intended to oppose to the elitism, nationalism and sensationalism of the bourgeois Olympics, and c) the 'women's Olympics' opposed to the sexist prejudices of the Olympic Movement. In addition, the inter-war period witnessed the organisation of Regional Games, which often challenged the authority of the IOC, but also contributed to the expansion of the Olympic Movement.

Military 'Olympics'

During the early part of America's participation in the First World War, athletics were largely under the control and supervision of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) whose athletic directors did much toward the establishment of a firm foundation for the future development of all types of sports and games in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) and among troops in the US. In the pre-war period, team games such as basketball and volleyball were associated with the promotion of Christian values. The YMCA implemented programmes in communities, Sunday schools and in industry in order to spread physical education. However, during the war, the Association's experience and popularity were mostly used in political terms.

The army drew heavily on the personnel and resources of the YMCA, and 300 athletic directors took charge of the sports programme, operating 836 athletic fields. The YMCA sent scores of these directors overseas and spent between one and two million dollars on athletic equipment...Under the directorship of Elwood S. Brown, the YMCA carried the burden of athletic activities in France until the General Order 241 made athletics and mass games a matter of military schedule. (Betts 1974; cited in Scharenberg 1999: 94)

On April 18, 1918, with America having joined the Allies and having a rapidly expanding army in Europe, Mr. Elwood Brown, physical director of the YMCA, requested war service and was brought to France as one of the YMCA athletic directors. Becoming a field secretary, Mr. Brown encouraged more widespread and systematic athletic activity in the Army, and for that reason he approached influential figures. It is believed that he aroused the interest of General Pershing and secured full cooperation from the Army and the YMCA headquarters, facilitating the issuance of General Order 241, the first General Order relating to sports in the US Army (issued by the General John J. Pershing, commander of the AEF, on December 29, 1918). The purpose of the order was to encourage the development of sport for the improvement of the physical fitness of the Army. The order called for competition in the AEF including championships in track and field, baseball, football, basketball, tennis, boxing and wrestling. Through the publication of the General Order 241, a closer cooperation between the YMCA and the Army was established (US Army 2004).

Even during demobilisation, the programme for organised sport by the YMCA continued, but was principally with foreign sports aid to promote internationalism (Scharenberg 1999). Sport was thereby promoted through several friendly contests between the athletes of the Allies. The Inter-Allied Military Games, held in Paris, from June 22 until July 6, 1919, signalled the end of the Great War and the beginning of a new era in international relations. Coubertin, when he heard about the YMCA's plans to stage an Olympic-type event in Paris, could not hide his annoyance.

In Paris, people fuss, they fuss intensely. That could be the refrain of an appropriate song, the verses of which would go on and on. Rather than list the things that people in Paris do fuss about, it would be quicker to list what they don't. They are also fussing about the Olympic Games. When they learned that the new municipality of Strasbourg was having a stadium built bear the Kehl Bridge in order to give the unemployed something to do, the Parisians wanted to hold world championships there in 1920. In addition, the committee of the YMCA, an organisation that gets involved in lots of things because of the great services that it has rendered in many areas, is talking about a "Super-Olympiad" to be held this spring in the Paris area. What on earth is a " Super-Olympiad? " When he entered Babylon, not even the victorious Alexander, as eager as he was to Hellenise the East, came up with such a thing. Our friends are growing alarmed *at this disorder, which threatens the Olympic calendar. They are growing alarmed at all these conflicting plans. They should rest assured.* (Coubertin 1919e: lines 1–16, emphasis added)

Coubertin, being aware that the alternative Games could “lead to cracks in the Olympic structure” (Coubertin 1997a: lines 3 – 51), did not allow the use of the name ‘Olympic’ for any other events than the Olympic Games. He believed that the misuse of the term ‘Olympic’ was intentional, aiming at the interruption of the periodicity of the Olympiads with the organisation of alternative Games.

Reprehensible plots were concocted in which alleged athletes - unaware of the fundamental fairness of frontal attacks in sports - tried to upset the order of the Olympiads and assume direction of them. Not a trace of these plots remains. General Pershing, with a single stroke of his honest pen, crossed out the term “Olympic” which they wanted to use to deck out allied military games. President Clernenceau, sending a squadron of planes to Lausanne, asked the IOC to see the gesture as an expression of his complete support. (Coubertin 1934a: lines 66–78)

These events were not particularly a threat to the Olympic Games, and “had been arranged with a view to providing a healthful and enjoyable means of occupying the enforced leisure of the troops of the different armies, whose immediate demobilisation and return home had, for many reasons, not been considered practicable” (Coubertin 1997t: lines 129 – 151). Interestingly, Krüger (1999) argues that if there had not been successful Inter-Allied Games in Paris in 1919 under the American General Pershing, “the IOC would not have dared stage the Olympic Games so shortly after the war” (p. 11). Nevertheless, the alleged expedience of the Inter-Allied Games could perhaps have had the reverse effect to the Olympic Movement, if Coubertin had not exercised pressure when it was needed.

Here is one that closely concerns Olympism, and to which recent abuses require us to draw the public's attention. A French newspaper, which is at time not afraid to massacre grammar - as is true, alas, of so many others like it -, describes the inter-allied military contests led by the head of the American army as the “Pershing Olympiad”. This is the result of both historical and technical ignorance. An Olympiad is a date on the calendar established, based on fixed and equal intervals of four years. It is therefore absurd to speak of organizing an Olympiad. As the Olympiads were re-established, starting from 1896, nothing can prevent the seventh from starting in 1920, the eight in 1924, the ninth in 1928, and so on. The only issue that arises is that of celebrating these Olympiads with Games. The sixth (1916) could not be celebrated in Berlin as had been intended. The seventh (1920) is expected to be celebrated in Antwerp. Olympiads can, therefore, in no case be likened to the Games with which they are customarily celebrated. For their part, these Games have a program that is summarized succinctly in the words: all games, all nations. The very essence of the Olympic Games is that they are international and include different types of sports: gymnastic and athletic sports, combat sports, water sports, equestrian sports, etc. The term Olympic is constantly used to describe local or technically limited competitions. This is a mistake. It was necessary to point this out, and explain once more the value of terms that are becoming commonly used. (Coubertin 1919m: lines: 3-26)

Some years later, in his Olympic Memoirs, Coubertin refers again to the efforts he made to ensure that the name 'Olympiad' would only be used by the IOC to describe the interval of four years between the Olympic Games.

Naturally, attempts had been made in certain circles to mislead the public by talking of a "Military Olympiad" and suggesting that it should take the place of the regular Olympiad a year ahead of time. Once again the question of the numbering of the Games and the four-yearly interval! I have before me a letter from J.J. Jusserand, giving me an account of the steps he was taking (President Wilson was in Paris at the time) and assuring me that the Americans would never allow use to be made of the terms "Olympic" or Olympiad" for such a purpose. The Inter-Allied Games, as might have been expected, showed moreover that muscular value and sporting enthusiasm were not on the decline. (Coubertin 1997t: lines 152-164)

The Olympic Movement itself had a certain degree of recognition among the international circles in the early years. However, in the inter-war period, and through actions such as the resistance against the newly emerged athletic festivals, which carried the name 'Olympic' in their title, the IOC established itself as the primary authority concerned with international sport. Given the fact that the Olympic event is a multi-sport festival, other international sport events which followed the internationally standardised game rules and regulations for international sport could also claim the name 'Olympic'. Nevertheless, Coubertin transformed a situation that could have proved threatening for the future of the Olympic Movement to an opportunity for the strengthening of the Olympic structure by drawing the boundaries of the Olympic Movement.

The Socialist Challenge and the 'Workers' Olympics'

The war resulted in the collapse of the old empires and the emergence of new states, mostly in Eastern Europe. In 1917, after a series of revolutions, Russia became the first country in the world to form a Communist government (Culpin 1996). In the late 1920s and 1930s, Europe suffered from increasing mass unemployment and poverty, which led to a mobilisation towards social change and re-ordering of the social classes, as the upper class and the elites eventually lost their power and privileges. Due to these social changes, a new form of physical culture was born that would serve the revolutionary purposes of the communists. The communist sport model aimed to introduce sport to all people and employed it for utilitarian purposes that would enhance public welfare. Moreover, it would help to

increase national integrity and secure national unity of the people belonging to the communist and authoritarian regimes (Riordan 1999). From 1917 to 1939 a series of 'alternative Olympics' took place, mainly organised by the Soviets. Although the Soviet Union had participated in the 1912 Olympics, it was never invited subsequently to take part in any of the Olympic Games during the inter-war period. Nevertheless, the USSR organised many cultural sport events on a scale even bigger than that of the Olympics (Roche 2000).

In 1917, the USSR organised the Central Asian Games in Tashkent in which 3,000 athletes took part, a significantly larger number than that of the athletes participating in the 1920 Olympics in Belgium (Riordan 1996; Roche 2000). The importance of this event lay in the fact that in these games for the first time some of the Russian ex-colonies were summoned together, despite their language, religious and cultural differences. Three years later, in 1920, the USSR celebrated the third anniversary of the 1917 'October revolution' with a mass demonstration of the Bolshevik storming of the Winter Palace involving 18,000 athletes. This event was termed a 'pre-Olympics' as a reference to the 1920 Olympics for which the USSR was not invited to take part. In 1925 and 1928 the Soviets organised the 'Spartakiad Games', a very successful event that combined sport competitions and cultural manifestations. They have been described as a 'ritualised Marxist demonstration against the hypocrisy of the bourgeois Olympics with their apparent discrimination against working class athletes' (Riordan 1996). In 1932, the last Spartakiad Games prior to the World War II were held in Moscow. It has been suggested that those Games were held in this year as part of the ideological opposition to the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles (Roche 2000).

Coubertin often asserts in his writings that the changes in the social order, after the end of the war, did not have a major impact on the structure of the Olympic Movement.

Olympism passed through the Great War without even a shake. I am confident it would not prove less solid in case of social troubles. At any rate, the corporative tendencies of our times are by no means anti-Olympic. I noted with pleasure the workmen's acceptance of Olympic principles and spirit. (Coubertin 1928c: lines 53 – 56)

Although he acknowledges that the 'Workers' Olympiads' had achieved remarkable success, he emphasises their weaknesses centred upon the internal conflicts between the socialist and communist organisations, which led to the change of the name of their events.

It was in the early days of their revival that they [i.e. the Olympic Games] ran the greatest risks; at present, the sap flows too strongly for it ever to dry up. The 1914-1918 war did not shake them: the social revolution did not affect them either. It is interesting to note, moreover, that alongside the 'capitalist' organisation there is already a 'proletarian' organisation. 'Workers' Olympiads' have been held at regular intervals and not without success. At the time of writing, a gigantic stadium is, I am told, being built in Moscow, where the next are to be held. They are even said to be going to take advantage of the occasion to change the name of this athletic meeting, which-if this were the case-would be infantile and only serve to emphasise an only too frequent failing of revolutionaries the world over: when so many institutions need radical renovation, they limit themselves merely to changing the name: what are needed are deeds not words. (Coubertin 1997n: lines 32 – 43)

The division between the socialist and communist organisations over the leadership and aims of the worker sport movement mounted after the formation of the communist International Association of Red Sports and Gymnastics (better known as Red Sport International – RSI) in Moscow in 1921, as a branch of the Communist International or *Comintern*. Until then, the Lucerne Sport International (LSI – a branch of the Bureau of the Socialist International) had led the worker movement, trying to develop it as a strong independent movement within capitalist society. Thus, the socialists were not trying to make their sport movement into an active revolutionary force. Under the socialist leadership, three 'Workers' Olympics' were held (Prague 1925, Frankfurt 1925, Antwerp 1937). Nonetheless, the communists wished to organise international sport as a political vehicle of the class struggle, considering that it was not sufficient merely to organise a worker movement within the capitalist order. So they organised the Soviet Spartakiads and banned all their members (RSI) from any activities and contacts with the LSI. Although the two worker sport movements came together again in 1936, Krüger (1999) argues that these internal conflicts of the worker movements, together with the over-politicisation of the worker sport and the under-representation of these events in the media led to the diminishing of their popularity among the working classes.

Nevertheless, even though Coubertin did not openly admit that such strong socialist and workers movements threatened the existence of the 'bourgeois' Games, his concerns were obvious.

A country is not truly sporting until the day when the greater part of its citizens feels personal need for sport [...]. And it is for the adult overtaxed and exhausted by modern life that sport constitutes an essential counterbalance, an almost infallible means of recovery, a discipline that nothing can replace. Now what facilities do our organisations provide for him in this respect? [...] What gymnasium - free or almost free - is open to him? [...] That is the reason why I wish to see a revival in an extended and modernised form of the municipal gymnasium of antiquity. [...] *And let the 'bourgeois' look out for the establishment of which I am speaking could well be built one day at their expense by the proletariat, which is already organizing Workers' Olympic Games in which the sporting spirit is superior to theirs.* (Coubertin 1927c: lines 62 – 78, emphasis added)

The above quotation is taken from an open letter to Frantz-Reichel, who was Coubertin's close collaborator in France and had served as Secretary General of the 1924 Olympic Games. Coubertin in this letter warns Frantz-Reichel that, if sport were not to be democratised by establishing institutions such as the public gymnasium, the worker movement would undertake such a project, threatening the existence of the 'bourgeois' sport movement. Such concerns also explain why Coubertin, in his speeches of that period, seemed very keen to promote the principle of social equality and advocates sport for all.

This new era demands such a change [i.e. federations to adopt a more 'tolerant' policy in matters about class]. For a long time, the renewed interest in athleticism during the nineteenth century was merely an occasional pastime for rich and semi-idle youth. Our Committee has fought more than anyone to make it a habitual pleasure of the youth of the lower middle class. Now it must be made fully accessible to proletarian adolescents. All sports for all people, that is the new goal to which we must devote our energies, a goal that is not in the least impracticable. The recent war was won by the western powers thanks to a "sacred union", based on the conviction that the two-fold stakes of the fight were the political freedom of States, and the social equality of individuals. If we were to forget the second goal after achieving the first, civilisation would run the risk of exploding like a boiler without a safety valve. (Coubertin 1919a: lines 110 – 120)

The above message, with a few alterations, is also included in his Olympic Memoirs.

It also implies recognition of the vital fact, strongly contested until quite recently, that sport is not a luxury pastime, an activity for the leisured few, nor merely a form of muscular compensation for brain work. For every man, woman and child, it offers an opportunity for self-improvement quite independent of profession or position in life. It is the apanage of all, equally and to the same degree, and nothing can replace it. (Coubertin 1997n: lines 89 – 98)

In similar vein, he condemns the uniformity caused by industrialisation, of which one product is the working class itself, and emphasises Olympism's social and democratic character.

Olympism refuses to accept the existence of a deluxe education reserved for the wealthy classes, no shred of which should be handed out to the working classes. It refuses to condense art into pills that everyone will take at set hours and to establish timetables of thought along the lines of railways schedules. Olympism is a destroyer of dividing walls. It calls for air and light for all. It advocates a broad-based athletic education accessible to all, trimmed with manly courage and the spirit of chivalry, blended with aesthetic and literary demonstrations, and serving as an engine for national life and as a basis for civic life. That is its ideal program. Now can it be achieved? (Coubertin 1918c: lines 18 – 29)

The Workers' Olympiads were opposed to the exclusionary values of elitism, racism and sexism, which tended to make sport inaccessible for working-class athletes. The IOC Games were criticised for being the preserve of the sons of the rich and privileged through the rules of amateurism and the 'aristocratic-cum-bourgeois-dominated national Olympic committees', as well as the IOC itself (Krüger 1999: 109; Roche 2000). Coubertin, in order to safeguard the severely scrutinised 'bourgeois' Olympic Movement, initiated a new, more democratic, popular and inclusive programme.

Now, nothing is accomplished when only limited numbers are involved. That may have been sufficient before, but not now. The masses must be touched. In truth, in the name of what can the masses be excluded from Olympism? By virtue of what aristocratic decrees does there exist some link between physical beauty and the muscular power of a young man, between his perseverance in training and his desire to win, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the list of his forefathers or the contents of his wallet? Such contradictions in terms, which are unfounded in law, lived on after the social organisation that created them. It is morally right that it was an autocratic gesture based on an outburst of barbarous militarism that dealt them the deathblow. [...] Faced with a new world that must be ordered according to principles thought to be utopian until now, and that can now be applied, humanity must find all the strength it can in the heritage of the past in order to build its future. Olympism is one of those strengths. (Coubertin 1919n: lines 49 – 55)

He also wished to introduce this 'inclusive' programme to the educational institutes, mainly universities, hoping that the principles of sport, if applied to all, would contribute to the maintenance of social peace, which had been shaky after the war.

But it is also useful to him [i.e. the university student] in carrying out the social task which will lie ahead of him in the new society [...] All forms of sport for everyone; That is not doubt a formula which is going to be criticized as madly utopian. I do not care. I have weighed and examined it for a long time; I know it is accurate and

possible. The years and the strength which remain to me will be employed to ensure its triumph; it will be my contribution to those social reforms whose principle was the basis of the pact of sacred union during this long war and whose achievement will have to be honest and swift if we do not want civilisation to blow up like a boiler without a valve, University students, messengers of knowledge and imagination, will constitute the most active battalions in this great task; let us say if you wish that they will have to be us aviators. Now I have said, and I repeat, that sport by reason of its potent physical and moral effects will be an inestimable instrument in their hands for the establishment of social peace. They must therefore know how to handle it with tact and how to derive the maximum effect from it. *Popular Olympism is about to be born; let the students prepare to serve it.* (Coubertin 1919c: lines 5 – 25, author's emphasis)

As a response to the socialist challenge that the new social order and the worker movement had raised, Coubertin put forward the notion of 'popular Olympism'. He emphasised the necessity of the existence of the Olympic Games as a product of popular culture that would enhance the sense of collectiveness among the individuals of the modern society, increasing the chances of maintaining social peace and unity.

Let us look around us and see what are the general needs of the age. It seems that the primary effort is towards a more just distribution and remuneration of labour, then towards a better delimitation between the area of public services and that of private initiative, whose frontiers are drawn in a frequently vague and sometimes absurd fashion, and lastly towards an education within the range of all and no longer the monopoly of a small number. But all these reforms risk remaining sterile unless we succeed in creating a centre for popular spectacles and enjoyments in which a simple, clear and tangible idea can draw together not only people of all ages and all professions, but of all opinions and all situations. (Coubertin 1918g: lines 5 – 13)

His motto in the post-war era became 'all sports for all people', as part of an effort to establish more sports associations that would serve the interests of the general public. He also expressed the idea of establishing a 'popular university' for the education of all individuals, where members of the working class would be taught world history, science, philosophy, language and other topics (Coubertin 1922).

I expect a great deal of the working class. It is possessed of splendid strengths, and seems to me to be capable of great things. Moreover are we not deluding ourselves a bit as far as that culture, of which we are so proud, is concerned? There is so much dross mixed in with the pure metal, so much incoherence, insipidness, hollow vanity, and thinly disguised pornography! Whatever the case may be, here is how the issue stands, as I see it. *There is not way to link the working class suddenly with high culture, as the previous age understood it. The working class must prepare its own inventory of high culture, so that if the temple that contains the accumulated wealth of civilisation should be entrusted to its care in the future, that temple will be respected and maintained. From this viewpoint, a plan for labour universities was devised [...]* "What?" you may say, "you want to teach all that to manual labourers? What foolishness! They have neither the time nor the taste for such studies." I know; I am familiar with this disdain and these people, when I planned to re-establish the

Olympic Games, took me for a madman, too. (Coubertin 1922: lines 215 – 230, emphasis added)

Although Coubertin acknowledges that the working class should not be undermined in its efforts to establish its own culture, his statements are punctuated by paternalist references. He suggests that the 'high culture', as has been so far understood by the bourgeois, cannot be wholly embraced by the working class. The rationale of such a claim is better understood in the following:

Now we come to the third factor that guarantees the stability of athletic sovereignty. I am referring to the conquest of the masses that athletic organisations, as they have existed so far, have been unable to reach. How could they have? We are dealing with the self-baptized, the proletariat, in the pejorative sense of a social have-not. *The hour of proletarian revenge has sounded for; we must acknowledge nothing can be done from now on without it. It is the horde, and a horde overwhelms an elite that has not always remained worthy of its privileges. Yet the proletariat is not ready for its task at all. It has not been instructed.* No one has ever bothered to show it all the riches housed in the intellectual temple, a temple that now depends, in part, on that same proletariat for its very preservation. Above all no one has done anything to dispel the bitterness - no, let us speak frankly, let us use the words that are fitting - to soothe the intense anger, the accumulated hatred that form the disturbing substrate of the new foundations now being laid. (Coubertin 1920a: lines 164 – 188, emphasis added)

Coubertin seems to accept, if not to embrace, the new reality of greater rights and freedom for the proletariat. However, showing once again evidence of paternalism, he emphasises that the proletariat is not capable of carrying out successfully its new tasks in society without the guidance of bourgeois groups. In similar vein, the establishment of the popular university may be seen as an attempt by bourgeois interests – and by Coubertin in particular - to 'instruct' the proletariat by organising its education. It may be argued that, since the rising power of the proletariat could not be halted, initiatives such as the popular university could at least assist the bourgeois to maintain some kind of indirect control over the proletariat. This argument sounds more credible, if one reads the following quotation.

There was a confused sense that this war was not going to be like any other, and that, dominated by a new element - the unity of the world - this war was creating unexpected opportunities. Once it was over, accumulated rancour and cramped appetites would clash in a gigantic battle for the conquest of power. *Merely pushing the working class back into its previous status was not an option. The only choices open to discussion were to join forces with it or to submit to it.* Various opinions are in the process of being formed about these alternatives. Some, in light of the flaws in and the breakdown of society, its inability to reform itself, are attached to the idea of a new, more just society - and thereby a more Christian society. Others think that we have what it takes to rebuild, and that it is just a matter of time until that is apparent.

But in the near future, whether the working class is in full control of power or merely involved in the exercise of that power, the issue of preparing that class is just as essential. Yet there is no such preparation. [...] From this viewpoint, a plan of labour universities was devised. (Coubertin 1922: lines 167 - 204, emphasis added)

All the same, Coubertin, given the new social order, unquestionably made remarkable efforts to reform Olympism and transform it to a more democratic and popular philosophy. This provided evidence that the Olympic Movement could develop sensitivity in social matters and that it could be flexible when this was needed. However, the situation was very different in relation to the inclusion of women in the Olympic Movement. Although, women's role in contemporary western society was gradually changing by the recognition of more rights (especially in the pre-war period women's right to vote had become a major issue for dispute), Coubertin continued to oppose the participation of women in the Olympic Games. As expected, women reacted to the sexist and exclusivist values of the Olympic Movement and organised their own athletic competitions. Thus, the inter-war period of the Olympic Movement experienced a further series of 'alternative' games, the so-called 'Women's Olympics' or 'Women's World Games' (as they were later re-named).

The 'Feminist Drive' and the 'Women's Olympics'

Women were never originally seen as equal partners, nor indeed as any kind of partners, in Coubertin's view of modern sport, and consequently in his project to revive the Olympic Games. In his 'Ode to Sport', the centrality of the male athlete was obvious.

O Sport, you are Fecundity!

You tend by straight and noble paths towards a more perfect race, blasting the seeds of sickness and righting the flaws, which threaten its needful soundness. *And you quicken within the athlete the wish to see growing about him brisk and sturdy sons to follow him in the arena and in their turn bear off joyous laurels.* (Coubertin 1912d: lines 34-38, emphasis added)

Classism, sexism and racism were bound up with the organisations and the social structures of the nineteenth century Europe. Based on the theory of 'separate spheres', the role of women was limited to issues concerning home whereas men dealt with the public affairs. Coubertin shared fully the sexist prejudices of his era

which privileged the male physique and male sociability in their conception of sport culture (Guttman 1992; Hargreaves 1994; Welsh and Costa 1994; Roche 2000). He never hesitated to state clearly his opposition to the prospect of allowing women to participate in the Olympic Games.

The question of allowing women to participate in the Olympic Games has not been settled. The answer cannot be negative merely on the grounds that that was the answer in antiquity; nor can it be affirmative solely because female competitors were admitted in swimming and tennis in 1908 and 1912. So it is clear that the debate remains open. It is good that too swift a decision has not been reached, and that this matter has dragged on. It will resolve itself quite naturally at the Congress of Paris, which will give the Olympiads their final form. Which way will it go? I am not a soothsayer, but for my own part I am not afraid of siding with the no vote. I feel that the Olympic Games must be reserved for men. (Coubertin 1912f: lines: 1 – 8, emphasis added)

Coubertin, in his plans for the Games revival, had envisaged that they should be reserved for male athletes. In his efforts to explain this position he referred to several reasons that can be summarised as follows: a) the organisational problems that would follow the inclusion of women due to the increased need for the establishment of separate sport associations and the staging of separate events during the Olympic Games, b) the inappropriateness of viewing women competing with each other in public sports competitions, and c) the limited physical abilities of women which made them 'incapable' of producing records in a highly competitive form of sport such as the Olympics. With regard to the first two points, evidence is provided in the following quotation:

First, in application of the well-known proverb depicted by Musset, "a door must be either open or closed". Can we allow women access to all Olympic events? No? Then why should some sports be open to them while the rest are not? Above all, what basis can one use to place the barrier between the events that are permitted, and those that are not? There are not just women tennis players and swimmers. There are women fencers, women riders and, in America, women rowers. In the future, perhaps, will there be women runners or even women football players? *Would such sports, played by women, constitute a sight to be recommended before the crowds that gather for an Olympiad? I do not think that any such claim can be made.* But there is another reason, a practical one. Would separate events be held for women, or would meets be held all together, without distinction as to sex, regardless of whether the competition is among individuals or teams? The second of these approaches would be logical, since the dogma of the equality of the sexes tends to expand. Yet this assumes the existence of co-ed clubs. There are hardly any such clubs now, with the exception of tennis and swimming. *Even with co-ed clubs, ninety-five times out of a hundred, elimination rounds favour the men.* (Coubertin 1912f: lines 13 – 29, emphasis added)

Even though the Games were reserved exclusively for the male athletes, at the 1900 Paris Olympic Games Charlotte Cooper became the first female modern Olympic victor. There were 1318 men and only 19 women at these Games (a figure which was reduced to eight in the St. Louis Games of 1904). These were females from privileged backgrounds who had the necessary funds and leisure time to enable their participation in socially acceptable sports. The most popular sport among those classes were archery, field sports, and later in the century, golf and tennis (Guttmann 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). However, it should be noted that women in these Games performed in a few unofficial events, while the IOC banned women from participation in the Olympics in 1912 (Hargreaves 1994). It is obvious that Coubertin did not want to incorporate women's organised sport into the Games, and, for that reason, he often exaggerated the structural and bureaucratic issues that could arise. Another issue that concerned him deeply was the exposure of female physicality through the public contests. He referred to it several times in his life.

Although I would like competitions among boys to be more infrequent, I emphatically insist that the tradition continues. This form of athletic competitiveness is vital in athletic education, with all its risks and consequences. Add a female element, and the event becomes monstrous. The experience of Amsterdam seems to have justified my opposition to allowing women into the Olympic Games. On the whole, reaction so far has been hostile to repeating the spectacle that the women's events provided during the Ninth Olympiad. *If some women want to play football or box, let them, provided that the event takes place without spectators, because the spectators who flock to such competitions are not there to watch a sport.*" (Coubertin 1928b: lines 172 – 180, emphasis added)

In similar vein, some years later (1935), he returned to this point.

I personally do not approve of feminine participation in public competitions, which does not mean that women should not go in for a large number of sports, but I mean to say merely that they should not seek the limelight! In the Olympic Games, their particular role should be that of crowning the champions, as in the tournaments of olden times. (Coubertin 1935a: lines 242 – 258)

He was apparently influenced by the contemporary view of the concept of chivalry in the Middle Ages. As he described in one of his earlier writings, with reference to the English Dr. Brookes who had attempted to revive the institution of ancient athletics,

Yet in some ways antiquity was not enough for Dr. Brookes. It did not know of gallantry. So he drew on some chivalrous customs of the Middle Ages. He had the

winner of the tournament bend his knee to receive the symbolic laurel from the hands of a lady. (Coubertin 1890g: lines 108 – 111)

In principle, sport offered cultural liberation for women in terms of the social constraints of the Victorian dress code and 'body culture' (Roche 2000). However, even after World War I, when women had more freedom in many spheres of their lives, they were denied equality of access and opportunity in sport (Birrell and Cole 1994). The culturally appropriate behaviour for women demanded the female athletes to demonstrate the principles of modesty, dignity and morality, which defined behavioural and dress standards (Toohey and Veal 2000). In this rationale, Coubertin believed that public competition for women was inappropriate. Instead, a more suitable role for them would be to show their appreciation of the male athletes for their remarkable achievements.

There remains the other possibility, that of adding women's competitions alongside men's competitions in the sports declared open to women, a little female Olympiad alongside the great male Olympiad. What is the appeal of that? Organizers are already overworked, deadlines are already too short, the problems posed by housing and ranking are already formidable, costs are already excessive, and all that would have to be doubled! Who would want to take all that on? *In our view, this feminine semi-Olympiad is impractical, uninteresting, ungainly, and, I do not hesitate to add, improper. It is not in keeping with my concept of the Olympic Games, in which I believe that we have tried, and must continue to try, to put the following expression into practice: the solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism, based on internationalism, by means of fairness, in an artistic setting, with the applause of women as a reward.* This combination of the ancient ideal and the traditions of chivalry is the only healthful and satisfactory one. It will impose itself on public opinion through its own strength. (Coubertin 1912f: lines 37 – 56, emphasis added)

In the above text, a third reason, explaining why Coubertin opposed women's participation in sport, is also evident. He argued that competitions solely organised for women would lack interest. This relates to his view that women's physical capabilities are limited to physical exercises, and thus women cannot perform successfully in competitive sport.

Let us not forget that the Olympic Games are not parades of physical exercises, but aim to raise, or at least maintain, records. Citius, altius, fortius. Faster, higher, stronger. That is the motto of the International Committee, and the fundamental reason for the existence of any form of Olympism. Whatever the athletic ambitions of women may be, women cannot claim to outdo men in running, fencing, equestrian events, etc. To bring the principle of the theoretical equality of the sexes into play here would be to indulge in a pointless demonstration bereft of meaning or impact. (Coubertin 1912f: lines 29-36)

In the nineteenth century, the emphasis was on graceful movement rather than strenuous competition, which was related to 'masculine' development and loss of 'femininity'. Moreover, a related fear was that strenuous sport competition would damage a young woman's health and make her unable to become a mother. In short, the criteria for women's physical activity were hygienic and aesthetic rather than athletic (Guttmann 1992). Besides, there was the common view that women were frail individuals who just could not cope with the physical exertion that was required in many of the events. Interestingly, Hargreaves (1994) notes that, when the IOC held a conference in 1925 to examine the 'issue' of sport and women, "its medical report was a reaffirmation of the popular nineteenth century theory of constitutional overstrain...urging caution about the type and amount of exercise...with a scientific justification limiting women's participation in track and field athletics during the following years" (p. 213).

Can the young women I have mentioned before, with justified cruelty, acquire a moral sense through sports, too? I do not believe so. Physical education, athletic physical culture, yes. That is excellent for young girls, for women. But the ruggedness of male exertion, the basis of athletic education when prudently but resolutely applied, is much to be dreaded when it comes to the female. That ruggedness is achieved physically only when nerves are stretched beyond their normal capacity, and morally only when the most precious feminine characteristics are nullified. Female heroism is no phantom. I would even say, more directly, that it is just as common and perhaps even more admirable than male heroism. (Coubertin 1928b: lines 158 – 168, emphasis added)

Here Coubertin is again concerned with the issue of preserving the characteristics of women's femininity, which could be distorted through sport. He always emphasised that "the Olympic Games were established to exalt the individual male athlete, whose existence is necessary for the muscular activity of the group, and whose prowess is necessary to maintain the general competitiveness of all" (Coubertin 1931d: lines 75 – 78). Although Coubertin had no objections to women's involvement in physical activity per se, he felt strongly that women should not take part in competitive sport. He always made it clear that "the true Olympic hero is the individual male adult" (Coubertin 1936b: line 43). Interestingly, Coubertin emphasised that women could also demonstrate a kind of heroism through remarkable achievements, but not in the domain of competitive sport. Evidence of what constituted his perceived 'female heroism' is the following:

A record. A Swedish woman, Mrs. Wersall, had all six of her sons taking part in the Games in one way or another, the youngest as boy scouts enrolled to help in maintaining order and carrying messages. How true to ancient ideals! The IOC awarded her the Olympic medal. (Coubertin 1997h: lines 398 – 404)

Thus, women were only to be valued for bringing into life Olympic male champions rather than for their own sporting accomplishments. Women's response to this exclusionary attitude was similar to that of the working-class and socialist organisations discussed earlier, namely they formed their own international association. Women from different countries who were interested in sport formed the *Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale* (FSFI) in October 31, 1921, under the leadership of Alice Milliat, and the Women's Amateur Athletics Association (WAAA) was formed in Britain in 1922. It is also worth mentioning that women's participation in sport was encouraged in the national and international socialist sport movement and in the SWSI Workers' Olympics discussed above (Roche 2000). This group organised a separate female sporting contest, the first 'Women's Olympics', held in 1922 in Monte Carlo, with 300 competitors (Toohey and Veal 2000). However, subsequent to their success and the continued antagonism of the IOC to their proposed term 'Women's Olympics', the event was renamed and the FSFI staged the Women's World Games in 1926, 1930 and 1934 (Guttman 1992; Roche 2000; Toohey and Veal 2000).

Sigfrid Edstrøm, founder-president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) (1912) and influential member of the IOC's executive board, in response to the pressure caused by the organisation of the 'Women's Olympics' very close to the Olympic Games, voted in 1924 to sanction women's track and field events but not to advocate their inclusion in the Olympic Games. Finally, after hard negotiations between Edstrøm and Milliat, it was agreed that the FSFI would drop the word 'Olympic' in reference to their sport contests, but in return the IAAF agreed to leave the FSFI in control of women's sport (Guttman 1992). Just as with the worker movement, women's movement faced internal conflicts because some women wanted women's sport to follow a pattern based more on cooperation, which would be different from that of male competitive sport. Nevertheless, with the success of the 'Women's World Games', the IOC accepted the recommendation of the IAAF to permit the admission of women to a restricted number of athletic events at the Games (on April 5, 1926).

All the same, Coubertin never changed his mind about the participation of women in the Olympic Games, "as to the admission of women to the Games, I remain strongly against it. It was against my will that they were admitted to a growing number of competitions". (Coubertin 1928c: lines 50 - 52). Even after the successful organisation of the SFSI successful events in 1922, 1926, 1930 and 1934, his views remained the same, as opposed to the shift he initiated toward the democratisation of Olympism after the analogous rise of the socialist and worker's movements that were discussed above. His writings around this period provide evidence of this refusal to change his views.

Likewise, I continue to think that association with women's athleticism is bad, and that such athleticism should be excluded from the Olympic program - that the Olympiads were restored for the rare and solemn glorification of the individual male athlete. I believe that team sports are out of place in Olympiads, unless they compete in associated tournaments held outside the "Altis" (to use the ancient distinction), in other words, outside the sacred enclosure. (Coubertin 1934a: lines 136 - 142)

Towards the end of his life, Coubertin explained the rationale for his focus on male adults and adolescents rather than girls.

The average Frenchman's infuriating sense of logic made my friends reproach me: you are working for the adolescent, for the boy...what are you planning to do for the child, for the girl?... Nothing at all, was my answer. They are not going to advance my cause. The reform that I am aiming at is not in the interests of grammar or hygiene. It is a social reform or rather it is the foundation of a new era that I can see coming and which will have no value or force unless it is firmly based on the principle of a completely new type of education. (Coubertin 1976: lines 125 - 131, emphasis added)

The Olympic Games were originally part of Coubertin's envisaged social reform based on a new form of education, in which male sport education would be given priority. The absence of grammar or hygiene from the reformed education reflects his ideas about replacing some aspects of academic discipline with a competitive form of sport. Thus, this form of education based on modern competitive sport, and the Anglo-Saxon model of athleticism, would apply only to the male students who were thought to be physically capable of the rigour of competitive sport. In retrospect, his negative views about the participation of women in the Olympic Games may be seen as a corollary of the original plans and initial reasons for his social reform. Physical exercise, in the form of the Anglo-Saxon model of modern sport, would produce a stronger generation of men, and thus a stronger French army. This would therefore

heighten the possibilities for France to become a strong imperialistic force again. Nonetheless, even if socio-political changes took place, it may be argued that his interest in the advancement of the male individual, albeit initially related to an imperialistic *raison d'être*, remained a core belief until the end of his life.

5.4.2 Olympisation: Power and Control over the Regional Games

In the interwar period, the power of the IOC as the primary actor concerned with international sport had to be won over the increasing power of other organisations and movements that emerged with the end of the war.

The situation called above all for a declaration of unity, and that is why the pilot at the helm felt that everyone was looking to him to steer a steady course. The danger was not so much that some other body might succeed in taking over Olympism. A French politician and a French journalist were waging a fruitless campaign to hand over the Games to the League of Nations, which had only just come into being and had not yet found its feet. Such proposals had very little chance of being accepted and it was as easy to fight against them as against the attacks of certain federations, eager to see their delegates sitting at the table of the IOC. (Coubertin 1997a: lines 1-9)

As discussed above, in the inter-war period socio-political interests were principally expressed outside the Olympic Movement and through the staging of the 'alternative Olympics', such as the Inter-Allied Military Olympiad, the Workers' Olympics and Women's World Games. These events, albeit short-lived, challenged the authority of the Olympic Movement, and succeeded in pressurising the IOC to recognise that it needed to accommodate the growth of popular interest in sport. However, another issue that concerned the IOC during this period was the increasing power of the international federations, which could have an impact on the authority of the IOC as the major decision-making body in international sport.

In the chapter 'The 1921 Manoeuvre' of his Olympic memoirs, Coubertin refers to the conflicting interests between the IOC and the international federations. In 1921, the technical Olympic Congress in Lausanne was held, where, among other issues, experts in various sports such as riding, winter sports and mountaineering met to discuss about the technical aspects of the Olympic programme (Müller 2000). The Olympic Movement itself had a certain degree of organisation since its early years, being comprised of the IOC on the one hand, and the national Olympic committees

(NOCs) on the other. The IOC was a self-recruiting body and viewed its members as diplomatic representatives of the Olympic Movement in their home countries, rather than as representatives of their nations. The NOCs organised national teams for the Olympic Games, and when they were the hosts of the event, they would undertake a leading role in the event itself. However, given the fact that the Olympic Games are a multi-sport festival, in addition to this structure it was necessary to develop an international level of organisation in the constituent sports. Such need had already emerged in the early days, when conflicts over the rules and regulations were frequent (especially in 1900, 1904 and 1908 Olympic Games). A number of important international sport governing bodies associated with the Olympic Movement were established in this period, including in soccer, *Fédération Internationale des Football Association* (FIFA) in 1904, and in athletics, the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) in 1913 (Roche 2000).

At the conference in 1921, the IOC had to defend itself against the ambitious plans of the International Federations to establish their world federation, which would act on a relatively independent basis (Müller 2000).

Paul Rousseau did not succeed any better either in creating his super-federation. He had to be content with the maintenance of an 'Office of International Federations', *which was only very reluctantly granted the minimum rights of intervention and the bare means of existence*. I do not know whether this new body would have come up to its promoter's expectations, but from the Olympic point of view it would certainly have helped the IOC by freeing it of a technical role that was too extensive and responsibilities, which I had always hoped it might be able to throw off one day. At any rate, the Congress of the International Federations, both at the first meeting, which I was asked to open, and at the final banquet, showed that between them and the IOC the era of misunderstandings had come to an end. (Coubertin 1997a: lines 158-168, emphasis added)

In similar vein, a number of Olympic-related Regional Games, mainly organised by national-level governing bodies, constituted a threat by challenging the power of the IOC as the centre of the Olympic organisation.

The real danger lay in the frittering away of the Olympic idea, which risked being brought about by the proliferation of Regional Games that were the result of the general impatience that seemed to prevail. They were being created here, there and everywhere or at least we were continually being bombarded with plans, programmes and announcements of the formation of committees and subcommittees. During the last two years of the war, the threat of secession had hung over Olympism. By indirect and unofficial action I had always succeeded in thwarting any such attempts. The "League of Neutrals", which had for a while been mooted, had

never been more than a project without any real substance. The "League of Belligerents" of the German group had been nothing more than a vague idea and even if they were to try and carry it through now, it would surely be only very short-lived; Hungary and Turkey would probably be very reluctant to join in. On the other hand, if all these "Games" which were to be organised in Ireland, Poland, Catalonia, the Balkans, India and the Near East were allowed to take root, it might lead to cracks in the Olympic structure. *Admittedly all these undertakings looked to us for blessing and depended on our patronage. But largely ignorant of Olympic matters and unfamiliar with the spirit of the IOC, those who conceived them and sought to organise them harboured ulterior motives of a nationalistic or a religious character, which would only upset the whole movement in the end.* (Coubertin 1997a: lines 9-27, emphasis added)

In this context, the IOC's main concern was related to the affiliation of each sport to their confederations and federations, and simultaneously to the IOC, thus establishing itself as the primary authority concerned with international sport. Thus, for that reason, DaCosta (2002) argues, "the 'under the IOC sponsorship' expression had a more reactive than hegemonic meaning in the years of 1921, 1922 and 1923" (p. 98). In light of this, the Regional Games were a threat to the Olympic Movement, unless they were under the control of the IOC.

Therefore, I can say that the goal has been reached, and my work is done. Yet in keeping with your wishes, I shall remain as your president until 1924 so that, together, we may celebrate in Paris the Thirtieth Anniversary of the restoration of the Olympic Games on the occasion of the Eighth Olympiad. *Until then, according to my promise, I will work toward the advancement of the Regional Games. Held periodically under your patronage in various parts of the world, these Games will provide valuable human support for Olympism.* Thus it was that the Fourth Far Eastern Games, recently held at Shanghai before a crowd of 150,000 spectators, achieved quite remarkable results in all respects. (Coubertin 1924: lines 15 – 24, emphasis added)

Therefore, given the fact that the Regional Games could constitute a threat to the Olympic Movement in the event of the IOC not succeeding in exercising control over them, it is not surprising that Coubertin was relieved when most of these events did not survive the post-war period.

Of the host of projects produced right after the war and aimed at the creation of 'regional' Games, there remained practically nothing. I was pleased because I had seen no real future in the movement but had thought it best to leave it to wear itself out. Only the Far Eastern Games, now placed under our patronage, survived. They answered a real need. The only other plans I was interested in were those for the African Games, about which I shall speak in a moment, and the South American Games, which Brazil had introduced by inaugurating them the previous year (1922) on the occasion of the centenary celebration of its independence. (Coubertin 1997e: lines 64 – 71, emphasis added)

In the interwar period, the IOC was influenced by the increasing current of internationalism and pursued a worldwide profile, by promoting Olympism in colonial societies (Hoberman 1986; Roche 2000). Therefore, Coubertin encouraged the establishment of Regional Games in different continents for the sake of the expansion of Olympism and based on the principle of universalism, but he made sure first that these games would be limited in number and always under the IOC's control. In this way, he ensured the survival of Olympism in the turbulent post-war years, but also opened ways for its further development. As evident in his writings, principally three Regional Games had his support: Far Eastern Games, South American Games, and African Games.

The Far Eastern Games

The IOC aimed to make the Olympic Movement universal through the organisation of Regional Games. In the interwar period, Coubertin had often expressed his interest in the promotion of modern sport in Asia.

This time, however, it was Asia that experienced the full effects of our restoration efforts - for which they had prepared by periodically holding Far East Games, a sort of 'Olympic kindergarten'. The consequences will be enormous, and are already being felt by those who contemplate the Olympic Games and international championships in general from the vantage point of their own interests, for we are seeing the emergence of new moves. In all likelihood, the Games of the Ninth Olympiad in 1936 will probably not yet provide the means to allow these new moves to develop profitably. In this area as in so many others, power changes hands, principles change form, and centres of gravity shift. A structure comprising independent, interrelated segments is gradually replacing the tutorship system from which Europe has benefited for so long. Europe itself has hastened this demise through its tactlessness in using the system. The power that Olympism retains in the face of the lizards proclaiming its imminent or more gradual collapse derives from its most deeply human, and therefore universal, aspects (as is the case for most institutions rooted in Hellenism). Served by a college of unselfish priests who are haunted by neither ordinary concerns for profits nor a need to rise above their own merits, Olympism withstands the attack of any assailant and emerge unscathed. (Coubertin 1932b: lines 31 – 48)

Although, the interest in promoting modern sport in colonial societies was not officially discussed until the IOC Session in Rome (1923), several Regional Games had already been staged.

The Far Eastern Games already existed. The educational influence of those Games in China, Japan and the Philippines was swift and profound. At other places around the

globe, similar innovations were under way. There was a talk in India of Hindu Games. This was the 'Kindergarten' of Olympism, in which the International Olympic Committee had expressed a special interests from the start. (Coubertin 1931a: -lines 7-12)

Coubertin had officially made an agreement with the YMCA in 1920 for the dissemination of the Olympic ideal worldwide through the organisation of Regional Games. However, much earlier, the YMCA had already been involved in the organisation of the Asian Regional Games in Manila, Philippines in 1913.

We are now in possession of curious accounts of the beginnings of *exotic athleticism*. In truth, these really are not its beginnings. The festivities recently held in the capital of the Philippines did have a precedent. During the competitions of the Third Olympiad, held in St. Louis in 1904, one or more days were reserved for performances by Asians. The Americans clearly see themselves as athletic preceptors in the Far East. The day-long festivities in St. Louis were hardly flattering for the people in that part of the world. *These descendants of such ancient and refined civilisations were called on to compete with the representatives of peoples scarcely refined out of their original barbarianism. This was a mistake.* (Coubertin 1913e: lines 1 – 9, emphasis added)

Coubertin sets against the way the American organisers incorporated in their programme the events in relation to the peoples of Far East (mainly from Philippines). In the St. Louis 1904 expo, as well as in the 1901 Buffalo expo, displays of people connected with such places as Hawaii and Philippines took place. Displays of Others, such as people from 'exotic' foreign cultures (e.g. Arabia, China, Japan, Hawaii), were often part of the late nineteenth, and early twentieth century expos. Expo producers found that such displays could enhance the entertainment value of their events, and thus increase the participation levels (Roche 2000). Most expos from the 1880s onwards typically presented a diverse range of representations of Others as 'pre-modern', or even as 'uncivilised' and 'savage'. Greenlough (1988) emphasised,

Between 1889 and 1914, the exhibitions became a human showcase, when people from all over the world were brought to sites in order to be seen by others for their gratification and education...objects were seen to be less interesting than human beings, and through the medium of display, human beings were transformed into objects. (cited in Roche 2000: 83)

These displays included such peoples as Pacific islanders (e.g. Fijians and Samoans), Arctic peoples (e.g. Lapps, Inuit), native Americans (e.g. Sioux, Apache), and tribal peoples of a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups from Africa (e.g. Senegalese,

Dahomeans, Zulus, pygmies) and Asia (e.g. tribes from the Philippines). Roche (2000) notes that these groups remained in Europe and North America, as a kind of professional 'troupes', thus travelling from show to show and from expo to expo (p. 84).

Interestingly, although the British and French expos also included human displays, the American series of three World's Fairs (Philadelphia 1876, Chicago 1893 and St. Louis 1904) gave new dimensions of commercialism to the expos, and considerably intensified the entertainment and human display elements, primarily introduced by the Europeans. By doing so, the USA wanted to promote its expansionist and interventionist foreign policy, which had already been extended in the Pacific, Caribbean and South American. In relation to the Philippines, Greenhalgh (1988) argues that the importance attached to exposing and legitimating American control over this part of the world can be shown by the fact that a site of 47 acres was provided to the Philippines display at the St. Louis Expo (cited in Roche 2000: 59).

In this context, it can be argued that Coubertin's statement, "The Americans clearly see themselves as athletic preceptors in the Far East. The day-long festivities in St. Louis were hardly flattering for the people in that part of the world...*This was a mistake*" (Coubertin 1913e: lines 1-9) may have its roots in a broader rivalry of interests between the emerging 'American empire' (and the new, more commercial profile of the expos) and the European powers. In addition, it should be noted that Coubertin's relations with the St. Louis organisers had been shaky, especially after the latter had pressurised the IOC that they would organise an alternative major athletics event if the 1904 Games would not be held in St. Louis, alongside the World Fair. As a result, Coubertin had chosen to boycott his own Games and attended instead the annual dramatic festival of Wagner's music at Bayreuth in Germany (Guttman 1992; Roche 2000). Nonetheless, albeit Coubertin's criticisms of the wrong representation of Far Eastern people in St. Louis, and the overall effect of these human displays, by creating images of 'Otherness' as 'primitive' and 'savage', as opposed to 'us', the 'moderns', was not far apart from Coubertin's perception of Others and his concept of 'exotic athleticism'. In relation to the Asian people, once he stated the following,

The 'yellow men' seem to us to be admirably prepared to benefit from the athletic crusade that is taking shape. They are ready individually and collectively. They are ready individually because endurance, tenacity, patience, racial flexibility, the habit of self-mastery, of keeping silent, and of hiding pain and effort have shaped their bodies most effectively. They are ready collectively, because their young imperialism, which has not yet had its fill of domination, will impel them to taste the fresh joys of athletic victories, as well as the honour this brings to their national flags. For a while still, clearly, athletic Asia will grow and become strong where it is. Yet it is quite probable that contacts with the West will be made and, at Berlin in 1916, the yellow teams will be able to show what they can do. If that comes as a "revelation", all those who have athleticism and its spread throughout the world close to their hearts must rejoice, with neither second thoughts nor hesitation. (Coubertin 1913e: lines 49 – 64, emphasis added)

The social structures of imperialism that defined colonial relationships produced powerful images of Others, placing them in a binary opposition allowing the idea of Europe to emerge. As it developed during the Enlightenment, humanism became a core ideology, and the notion of 'humanity', though partial and narrow, was constructed (Davies 1997). However, Carrington (2004) argues, "humanism far from challenging European imperialistic expansion and colonial control, actually provided one of the main philosophical justifications for racial error and exploitation" (p. 83). In this context, ideologies of 'race' and white supremacy emerged in European thought, which promoted an ethnocentric, western model of humanism. Sartre (1961) emphasised, "there is nothing more consistent than a racist humanism since the European has only been able to become man through creating slaves and monsters" (cited in Carrington 2004: 84-85). The ideological content of Olympism, tied to the same origins of the racially exclusive European humanism, was always skewed in practice towards the interests and perspectives of the 'modern' and 'advanced' western nations and empires (Roche 2000). From this standpoint, Coubertin's references to racial characteristics of the Asians (such as endurance, tenacity, patience and racial flexibility), shares common characteristics with the philosophy of Social Darwinism, which embraced the common interpretation that 'only the strong survive' (Mangan and Nam-gil 2001: 65). Besides, his emphasis on the benefits that the Asians would gain from their contact with the West provides evidence that the movement had retained ethnocentric and racist attitudes, resembling those adopted by the US and European imperial powers.

It is worth noting that the regional Asian Games will return in the international sport arena in 1962, taking place under the auspices of the IOC, and constituting an arena

of conflicting interests and diplomatic episodes (the Arab-Israeli, China-Taiwan, India and Pakistan conflicts) (Simri 1983).

The South American Games

Coubertin's interest in the development of sport in South America is evident since the beginning of the Olympic Movement and the establishment of the IOC (1894), by including, among the 79 delegates from 13 countries, Jose B. Zubiatur as the representative in South America. In 1901, he awards the first Olympic Diploma to Santos Dumont, who had Brazilian nationality, whereas in several articles (1904, 1909, 1912) he shares positive comments about the practice of sport in South America (with special references to Argentina, Mexico and Chile) (DaCosta 2002). In another article, *Le Projet de L' Olympie Moderne et L' Avenir de Lausanne*, published in 1918, Coubertin includes South America as part of his expansion plans (under the name *Les Etats de L' Amerique du Sud*). Eventually, in 1922, the South American Games were held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, as part of the International Exhibition.

The only other plans I was interested in were those for the African Games, about which I shall speak in a moment, and the South American Games, which Brazil had introduced by inaugurating them the previous year (1922) on the occasion of the centenary celebration of its independence. Not only had they been placed under the patronage of the IOC, but also the Brazilian Government had sent me an invitation to come and preside over them. Circumstances unfortunately prevented me from leaving in time, but Count de Baillet-Latour was able to replace me. In the course of a journey through most of the South American continent, the delegate of the IOC had not only received the most flattering welcome for the work he represented but had used his time most profitably for the "Olympisation", to coin a neologism, of these new countries full of as yet unsatisfied sporting ambitions. He had been able, in the meantime, to smooth out difficulties, put an end to conflicts and solve tricky questions. Whether the Games at Rio were to become a really stable regular institution or not, it was worthwhile seeing them renewed in the near future for the benefit of other cities further apart from each other-as a result of inadequate transport rather than actual distance-than was the case in Europe. We needed a choice of centres like Mexico, Havana, Santiago, Montevideo and Buenos Aires, where athletes from nearby countries would have an opportunity of competing against each other either in Central America or in South America. This would also be an excellent "Olympic kindergarten", according to the term used in Manila. (Coubertin 1997e: lines: 123 – 144)

Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay attended the events as representatives of Latin American continent and competed in different sports such as athletics, boxing and tennis. A soccer competition also took place but was associated with the Exhibition

rather than the Games (DaCosta 2002). In 1923, the Count Baillet-Latour, who had attended the Regional Games in Rio as the official representative of the IOC, stated in relation to the event:

The Games in Rio, as a whole, were not perfect; however the criticism made to them was extremely exaggerated...the Games in Rio were also responsible for giving birth to a true wish to maintain the Latin American Games, considered to be the best way to prepare for the Olympic Games (1923; cited in DaCosta 2002: 97)

It is worth noting that Argentina and Chile had shown great interest in organising the sport movement in South America by organising the 'South American Olympic Games' in 1910 and 1920 outside the Olympic Movement and without the 'IOC patronage'. However, Coubertin opposed these events and demanded that the name 'Olympic Games' should be dropped from the title (Torres 2002; DaCosta 2002). Interestingly, the South American Games held in Rio de Janeiro (1922), albeit placed under the IOC patronage, had mainly been organised by the YMCA, as part of a previous agreement between the association and Coubertin (1920) in order to promote the values of Olympism on a larger scale. However, further action of the YMCA was limited when the IOC called for the establishment of National Olympic Committees and the formation of Steering Committee for the South American Games, thus establishing itself as the primary authority in the organisation of Regional Games. Baillet-Latour, with obvious evidence of paternalism, encouraged the establishment of NOCs, especially in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, where sport had reached higher levels, and thus their demands were also higher, just like "a child who has been raised, has grown up, and claims (sic) for a tutor" (cited in DaCosta 2002: 99). Nonetheless, Müller and Tuttas (2000) argue that the YMCA was the driving force behind the success of the Regional Games, and Torres (2002) and DaCosta (2002) are convinced that the role of the YMCA was much more significant that has broadly been perceived.

The African Games: Athletic Colonisation

In the latter part of the nineteenth century western dominance had been extended over almost all of Africa. However, elsewhere by the end of the eighteenth century the pre-eminence of European colonial power had already been challenged when first North America, then Haiti, and then most of Latin America had started to strive

for and, finally achieved, their independence. The protection of European dominance over any local expressions of autonomy was of prime concern for the colonial powers (Huntington 1996). It is suggested that through the English ideology of athleticism (also referred to as *The Games Cult* or *Games Ethic*) the public schools prepared their pupils for imperial roles in the Neo-imperial expansion of the late nineteenth century. Thus, often there are drawn links between the success of the British Empire and the dissemination of sport ideal in the colonies (Sandiford 1994; cited in Mangan and Hickey 2001: 106). France also used sport as part of its imperialistic practices to assimilate the local population into the citizenship of the motherland. 'Metropolitan France' wanted the indigenous populations to practice modern sport and compete as 'French' maximising the potential for acquiring national cohesion (Darby 2000).

In this context, Coubertin wished to promote Olympism in the African continent at a time when the most influential European countries were competing for influence in Africa. There were English, French, Dutch, German, Italian and Portuguese colonies where dominant colonial cultures were imposed on the indigenous populations. European powers, for example, coerced native Africans to adopt their language and to adapt to western culture. In that context, Coubertin also turned his attention towards the African continent for the promotion of Olympism and "the propagation of athletic activity among indigenous youth" (Coubertin 1931c). To this end, he started a programme with clearly propagandist goals establishing an 'African medal' and initiated the African Games, an idea he proposed in the 1923 IOC Session in Rome (Guttman 1992).

In 1923, under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee and thanks to the enlightened generosity of Mr. A. Bolanachi, a member of the IOC for Egypt, an 'African medal' was established for the propagation of athletic activity among indigenous youth. *This was a serious matter that created a storm in some centres of government, a topic to which we shall return.* One side of the medal bears the image of a black man throwing a javelin. The other side shows a stand of bamboo, through which one can read an inscription. The question was what language should the inscription be in. There was no possibility of using African dialects, which are infinitely varied. In Africa, English, French, German, Italian, and Portuguese are regional languages, depending on the nature of local colonisation. Why would we use one rather than another? *Latin, if you will, is not understood by anyone in Africa, but the officers and missionaries know the language and can translate the inscription on the medal into whatever language their subordinates understand. Then there is the matter of the prestige of ancient example.* There was no hesitation. We chose Latin and a whole system of education was carved into the exotic foliage, in just a few words. Here is the text: "*Athletae proprium est se ipsum noscere, ducere et vincere.* - It is the duty and the essence of the athlete to know, to lead and to conquer himself". Of course, in all the world's languages, it takes twice as many words as the original

to express the idea. Yet these words encapsulate a whole lesson in manly athletic education, and that is the main thing. (Coubertin 1931c: lines 64 – 85, emphasis added)

As discussed before, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the classic studies of Hellenism and Latin were taught in the European boarding schools of upper middle classes, emphasising the connections of these civilisations with the origins and history of Europe. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the inscription of the African medal would also be in Latin. This decision had a threefold purpose: a) to impose a European, ethnocentric model of knowledge and set of values on the indigenous people, as translated and delivered by the white, European settlers, b) to gain the support of the colonial officials by associating the development of modern sport in Africa to prestigious themes; a tactic that he has used again in the early history of the Olympic Movement, and c) to make the medal a symbol of unity among the European settlers without choosing one language over another, which could be interpreted as acceptance of the superiority of one empire over another.

French and Italian officials were invited to the IOC Session (1923) to discuss the establishment of the African Games. It was decided that the IOC should encourage *Les Jeux Africaines* for non-Europeans, beginning in Algiers in 1925 (Guttman 1992; Roche 2000).

In the course of the 1923 Session held in the Capitol in Rome under the patronage of the King of Italy, the International Olympic Committee decided to 'conquer Africa' and in order to achieve this purpose created the African Games. They were to be held regularly within the periphery of this vast continent, their aim being to get the natives to realise gradually the beneficial influence they would gain by the practice of sport. All those who later on remembered the peril, which jeopardized the existence of the Negroes, realised the valuable asset the Games would be to them and were surprised at the way this new venture was received. (Coubertin 1931a: lines 4 – 12)

The IOC proposed a version of sport apartheid by recommending the organisation of two biennial events, one preserved for Europeans and one for the colonised 'natives'.

What became of it for the moment at least, for I am quite sure the plan will be taken up again. It comprised the holding of "African Games" every other year, with a very simple programme to start with and which, naturally, would have been almost exclusively regional in character. I would like to have seen these Games reserved for the natives alone. It was preferred however to include competitions for colonials who had been in the country for at least two years. Admittedly, this point of view was quite understandable, but it complicated the proceedings at the start. The cities recognised capable of holding the first Games were Tunis, Rabat, Casablanca and

Dakar for French Africa, Tripoli, Benghazi and Asmara for the Italian possessions, Libreville in the Belgian Congo, Luanda and Sumac for Portuguese Africa, Cape Town and Nairobi for South Africa (Coubertin 1997e: lines 242 - 252).

Besides, 'Anglo-Saxon' sport, in the form of organised games, such as cricket, rugby and athletics, was practised in the colonies on a completely elitist and exclusionary basis. The British colonial administrators and traders of middle and upper middle classes needed these games as means of entertainment and communication among themselves (Roche 2000). It is worth noting that, while in the 'white' self-governing dominions of Australia and New Zealand, cricket and rugby became 'national' games through which people developed their identity (always in relation to the mother country), in the Black and Asian colonies of the West Indies and India, cricket and other sports were initially practised only by native ethnic elites. Therefore, Guttmann (1994) argues that sport practice, especially in African and Asian colonies, was used as tool of social control and reproduction of imperial hegemony.

Nevertheless, Coubertin faced obstacles in establishing the African Games and, thus expanding the Olympic Movement on the continent. The African medal "was a serious matter that created a storm in some topics of government" (Coubertin, 1931c: lines 67-68). In an issue of the *Olympic Review* (January 1912) Coubertin, attempted to persuade the colonials who were against the Regional African Games that they had nothing to fear from such an event. Hoberman (1986) argues that Coubertin wanted to encourage them to spread sport among the colonised without fearing that their victory could lead to rebellion. Nonetheless, the local colonial governments opposed such initiatives fearing that the colonisers' position of power would be undermined in sporting defeat by indigenous groups.

The January 1912 Olympic Review already dealt with this matter and opposed the view that a victory over the dominant race in the field of sport by the people in bondage may have a dangerous effect and risk to be exploited by the local opinion as an enticement to rebellion. The Germans, settled in their well-equipped African colonies, had not been afraid when they introduced sport practice to the natives. The British in India, although not very much inclined to introduce the Olympic Movement among the natives, did not set their face against it. Italy accepted the innovation with good grace although she did not have time to consider the matter thoroughly. It was France who set her face against this idea. Algiers had been honoured with the organisation of the first African Games. The Algerians, supported if not egged on by the Metropolis, declined this honour. In this way the inauguration was put off for two years, when Egypt, in her quality of senior country, was entrusted with the task of organizing the first Games. (Coubertin 1931a: lines 29-41)

Coubertin explains that the German, the British and the Italian colonies did not have much hesitation about being open to sport contests involving both the colonials and colonised. However, he claimed that the French were the major opponents of the African Games countering and finally managing to stop the organisation of the first African Games in Algeria (planned for 1925). Moreover, due to English and French political manoeuvring the inauguration of a stadium in Egypt at Alexandria designed subsequently to host the African Games was denied international exposure and the opening was thus able to attract publicity only on a strictly local scale.

The mistake I made was to consider (and to reveal this idea to the IOC) the possibility of a more solemn, more magnificent inauguration to be held in Algiers in 1925. To start with, this decision was greeted favourably in Algeria and Mr. Th. Steeg, who was Governor General at the time, also showed his interest. But it very soon met with opposition, which was all the more formidable as it lacked both direction and a centre. Those against it tried above all to waste time, to blunt good intentions. It was a question of perhaps personal but at any rate administrative rivalries. Eventually the inauguration had to be postponed till 1929 and Alexandria was substituted for Algiers. The preparations at the time were considerable a very fine stadium was built. Our colleague in Egypt, A.C. Bolanachi, threw himself into this scheme with keenness and a generosity made even more effective by his competence, which was recognised by all... At the last moment, an English political manoeuvre, in which France joined, rendered ineffective all the work done and King Fouad was left to inaugurate the fine stadium at Alexandria discreetly and on a purely local scale. I am unable to explain this rather annoying matter since, when it broke out, I had already ceased to be President of the IOC. (Coubertin 1997e: lines 253-269).

Coubertin emphasised that the African Games were not inaugurated in Algeria in 1925 because the settlers feared that through the organisation of the African Games the indigenous populations would be given more rights, and thus more power.

We are not concerned with the undercurrents, which caused this failure [of hosting the African Games], but it is now a known fact that the reason, which caused this opposition to fail to understand that truth and loyalty would subsist, is the notion that the prestige of the Metropolis might be jeopardized by colonial successes. (Coubertin 1931a: lines 64 - 69)

Lack of support from the colonisers made it very difficult for Coubertin to establish the African Games (Guttman 1994; Dine 1996; Roche 2000; Benzerti 2002). However, Coubertin always insisted that the settlers should not hesitate to introduce modern sport to the indigenous populations, in order to secure European rule on the African continent.

But at the back of it all, there was the basic conflict, the struggle of the colonial spirit against the tendency to emancipate the natives, a tendency full of perils as far as the general staffs of the mother country were concerned. The arguments used would not have been without value... earlier on; but they belonged to a past that was completely dead. It was a long time since they were applicable. The Olympic Review had dealt with the fine subject of "The role of sport in colonisation" in the number for January 1912. Twenty years later, I thought that opinion had evolved sufficiently to allow the idea to be put into effect! It appeared that the time was not yet ripe. *It must be getting nearer now and I remain convinced that before long, in spite of everything, sport will be organised throughout Africa but perhaps less well than if Europe had been clever enough to take over the running of the movement at the right moment.* (Coubertin 1997e: lines 269 – 280, emphasis added)

The development of sport in Africa, he argued, was inevitable and it was simply a matter for deciding whether that development should take place under the patronage of Europe or develop through the efforts of indigenous groups. In his opinion, if Europe wanted to have more control over the sport movement in Africa (and to foster its interests in other spheres), it should not hesitate to seize such opportunities. His fear that, "...before long, in spite of everything, sport will be organised throughout Africa but perhaps less well than if Europe had been clever enough to take over the running of the movement at the right moment" illustrates the paternalist colonial attitudes of those European interests involved in the management and planning of the sport movement in Africa.

Another theme evident in Coubertin's analysis is that he, in common with the colonial powers viewed the indigenous sporting cultures as 'peripheral' merely providing 'entertainment and recreation'. By contrast, the western sporting model was seen as the only efficient system that with its rules and regulations could lead to competitive sport performances.

There are certain forms of sport activities among natives, which localised to a region, sometimes even to a district, should not be discouraged, on the contrary, they ought to be encouraged, but they do not pretend to be anything else but a form of entertainment and recreation. If we want to extend to natives of colonized countries, what we call boldly the benefits of 'sport civilisation', it is imperative that we allow them to belong to the vast sport system, which entails rules and regulations and competitive sports results performances, which form the basis of this civilisation. (Coubertin 1931a: lines 113-119)

The sporting tradition of the imperial powers, predominantly 'modern sport' based on western (mainly Anglo-Saxon) rules and regulations, was imposed on the colonies often with the intention to undermine indigenous sport traditions or with the aim of 'civilising' the colony (Guttmann 1994; Houlihan 1994b). In the interwar period, a

number of notable imperialism-oriented expos were staged, where non-European 'racial' and ethnic groups, such as Africans and Japanese, showed evidence of their 'modernisation' process by cultural displays. Major imperial expos were planned in Britain and France in the pre-war period, but these plans were delayed by the war and were restored soon after it. France staged a 'Colonial and International Exhibition' in Paris in 1931 which attracted 33 million visitors and is described as "a stunning imperial fantasyland" (Rydell 1993; Greenhalgh 1988; cited in Roche 2000: 59).

Three years later, we had the Colonial Exhibition in Paris (1931 Ed.), which commemorated the centenary of French Africa, and showed the progress realised by sport in that country. *Do not be mistaken, however, the situation is not yet frank and definite. Sport there meant chiefly spectacular sport manifestations. It did not mean at all that natives were encouraged to go in for sport, nor did it give them facilities and encouragement for their training in manly games but above all, it failed to make them understand the true philosophical value and pedagogic importance of the motto we alluded to the other day*, in connection with the African medal created in 1923 by the International Olympic Committee as a medal of encouragement, on it were engraved the following words: 'athletae propium est se ipsum noscere, ducere et vincere'. (Coubertin 1931a: lines 64 – 75, emphasis added)

Coubertin expresses his disappointment that, notwithstanding his efforts to promote organised sport in French colonies, sport practices in those areas remained non-competitive, mostly recreational, activities. However, he had warned the European officials about the forthcoming difficulties in their 'civilising mission' in Africa.

And perhaps it may appear premature to introduce the principle of sports competitions into a continent that is behind the times and among peoples still without elementary culture-and particularly presumptuous to expect this expansion to lead to a speeding up of the march of civilisation in these countries. Let us think however, for a moment, of what is troubling the African soul. Untapped forces-individual laziness and a sort of collective need for action-a thousand resentments, and a thousand jealousies of the white man and yet, at the same time, the wish to imitate him and thus share his privileges-the conflict between wishing to submit to discipline and to escape from it-and, in the midst of an innocent gentleness that is not without its charm, the sudden outburst of ancestral violence... these are just some of the features of these races to which the younger generation, which has in fact derived great benefit from sport, is turning its attention. Sport has hardened them. It has given them a healthy taste for muscular relaxation and a little of that reasonable fatalism possessed by energetic beings, once their efforts have been accomplished. But while sport builds up, it also calms down. Provided it remains accessory and does not become a goal in itself, it helps create order and clarify thought. Let us not hesitate therefore to help Africa join in. (Coubertin 1997e: 141 – 178, emphasis added)

A significant element of imperialism was the western perception that indigenous cultures (the 'Others'), are 'peripheral', 'uncivilised' and 'savage'. Paternalism, hierarchy, conservative and racist discourse were evident in describing the colonial societies with the notion of assumed superiority of the West over the colonies (Said 1993). It is noted from Coubertin's documents that the African societies were repeatedly described in subordinated terms regarding the spread of Olympic sport in Africa and the development of sport in general.

Here we consider the matter only in relation to the main precepts of sportive pedagogy. Are these precepts applicable to the native races? Can they be adapted to their often very primitive mode of living? The answer is yes, even entirely so. The beauty of these precepts lies in the fact that they are sufficiently humane to suit all conditions of men from the semi-savage state to that of the ultra-civilized state. Of course, when dealing with men, one must take into account the difference of temperaments. (Coubertin 19831a: lines 96 – 104)

Providing evidence of 'Social Darwinism' again, Coubertin assumes a 'racial' and 'temperamental' superiority of the Westerners, thus admitting to the West the role of 'civilising force' that will bring "the light of civilisation on the vast continent of Africa" (Coubertin 1894d: lines 359-361).

The time has come for sport to advance to the conquest of Africa, that vast continent which it has as yet hardly touched and to bring to its people the enjoyment of ordered and disciplined muscular effort, with all the benefits which flow from it. (Coubertin 1923: lines: 1 - 5)

The above quotation is part of the Olympic solidarity campaign that Coubertin had initiated in 1923 but was short-lived due to lack of support (Müller 2000). Interestingly, in the 1960s Olympic solidarity campaign, initiated by the IOC, the African societies were again described in subordinate terms. Al-Tauqi (2003) has cited the following quotation from the minutes of a meeting held by the Commission for International Olympic Aid (CIOA):

Mr Brundage thought that we should keep ourselves out of all financial considerations, which might put the IOC in an embarrassing position. The President said that above all it was necessary to educate these people and inculcate in them the Olympic ideal. *Any sporting undertaking should be built up the foundation upwards and the people must be taught to help themselves* (CAIO meeting minutes, date unknown: Doc 05; cited in Al-Tauqi 2003: 202, emphasis added).

In similar vein, Coubertin believed that the colonies should be 'instructed' by the imperial powers.

They [i.e. colonies] are like children: it is relatively easy to bring them into the world; the difficult thing is to raise them properly. They do not grow by themselves, but need to be taken care of, coddled, and pampered by the mother country; they need constant attention to incubate them, to understand their needs, to foresee their disappointments, to calm their fears (Coubertin 1902; quoted by Hoberman 1986: 39)

Thus, in the light of such overt paternalistic references, it is suggested that the IOC's attitudes to race and ethnicity were closer to those of British and French imperial paternalism than to any real humanism (Roche 2000; Carrington 2004). Moreover, it is argued that even the profoundly imperialistic British Empire Games in the 1930s (the *Commonwealth Games* as they were later renamed) was "probably a more inclusionary international event in relation to non-European 'racial' and ethnic groups than was the Olympics" (Roche 2000: 110). However, it should be noted that during the decolonisation period that follows, while some ex-colonies rejected the imperial culture, most adapted it to their own cultural ethos. Thus, it can be argued that, although during imperialism modern sport practices were imposed on the indigenous populations, often dismissing their own cultural traditions, in the post-imperial era modern sport games such as cricket have often been used by the ex-colonies as a tool to enhance and foster nationalist feelings and racial pride (St. Pierre 1990; cited in Houlihan 1994b: 17-18).

It is also worth noting that the suggested African Games, which were postponed three times due to lack of support, were first organised in the early 1960s, initially under the name 'Friendship Games'. The first African Games organised by Africans themselves were held in 1965 in Brazzaville (Guttman 1994).

An analysis of Carl Diem's perceptions and values in relation to the Olympic Movement is accommodated in the next chapter. His early influences, his relationship with Baron Pierre de Coubertin, as well as issues related to the Olympic Movement during the First World War, the Inter-War, the Second World War and the Cold War periods are discussed.

Carl Diem's Role in the Olympic Movement (1912-1961)

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the emergence of Olympism in late nineteenth century Europe, as well as its development and expansion beyond Europe in the early twentieth century were examined against the historical, political and cultural background of the period 1887-1937. During this period, Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic Movement and president of the IOC for about three decades (1896-1925)¹, worked toward the promotion and expansion of Olympism through his numerous plans, appeals, and articles. Ever since its beginning (in the 1894 Paris International Congress), the Olympic Movement has been challenged by the emerging historical, political circumstances and social conditions, which have threatened its existence at certain times. For instance, the rise of Greek nationalism after the success of the 1896 Athens Games, as evidenced in the intentions of the Greek royals, diplomats and members of the government to organise permanent Olympic Games in Greece, could have brought Coubertin's plans for an international sport festival to an end.

A few years later, the outbreak of the Great War (1914-1918) affected the Olympic Movement in many different ways: a) the Berlin Olympic Games were cancelled, interrupting the periodical cycle of the Olympic Games for the first time in their modern history, b) the IOC members found it difficult to put aside their nationalistic feelings that had arisen as a consequence of the war, resulting in internal conflicts between the members of the IOC coming from countries on different sides, c) the difficult economic conditions made it impossible for cities to bid for the following

¹ It should be noted that during the war years, from 1916 to 1918, Coubertin temporarily handed over his presidency of the IOC to Godefroy de Blonay, Swiss representative to the IOC (Müller 2000).

Olympic Games, a situation that threatened the future continuation of the Olympic Movement, d) socialist, worker and women's movements emerged and organised their own sport events, their own 'Olympiads', as a form of resistance against the 'bourgeois', elitist, sexist and exclusionary Olympic Games. Throughout this period, the Olympic Movement has shown considerable resilience and flexibility to adapt to pressures generated in its political environment, sometimes through political manoeuvres (as in the case of Greek nationalism and the claim for permanent Olympic Games in Athens), and other times through changes in the ideology of Olympism (particularly in relation to the democratisation of Olympism in order to attract popular interest in sport). Especially during the years 1894-1937, Coubertin became a major actor in the Olympic organisation by facilitating or constraining these processes with his actions, thus leaving his imprint both on the ideology of Olympism and the policy of the IOC.

However, the interwar period saw the emergence of ideological absolutisms and the authoritarian regimes of Fascism and Nazism, which gained more power in this period and became involved in cultural politics, using the mass theatre of festivals, rituals and various forms of populist 'physical culture' as a means of propaganda. They promoted mass gymnastics and claimed that people should develop a 'body culture' concerned with fitness, open-air activity and work (Hoberman 1984). The leaders of these regimes saw the staging of large-scale international sports events as significant resources for conducting foreign policy and international propaganda (Roche 2000). This is particularly obvious in the case of the Nazis, who used the 1936 Berlin Olympics in order to project their image and increase the influence of their ideology internationally. At the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, the National Socialist party attempted to demonstrate to the world that their policies had helped Germany to recover from the Great Depression, while they also attempted to highlight the superiority of the Aryan race (Krüger 1999).

Thus, the international interests of the Olympic Movement were challenged by the nationalist interest of the Nazis, while the danger that the movement might be manipulated by a powerful nation that was seeking to project its image through the Olympic Games was apparent. During this period, Carl Diem, already an active and well-known figure in the IOC circles, became a leading figure in both the German Olympic Committee and the IOC through his actions from the post of the chief

organiser and Secretary General of the Berlin Games Organising Committee. Through many innovations he initiated, such as the torch-relay from ancient Olympia to Berlin, the concept of the 'Olympic village', and the youth camp, and due to his close collaboration with Coubertin for the realisation of different Olympic projects such as the publication of the *Olympic Review* (which Diem continued publishing during the years of the Second World War), and the establishment of a Centre for Olympic Studies, Carl Diem was established as a leading figure of the Olympic Movement for long time after the Berlin Games had ended, working for the dissemination of the Olympic ideals until his death (1962).

The influence of fascism on the interwar period cannot be reduced simply to the short-term immediate effects of the 1936 Summer and Winter events (the Winter Games were also held in 1936 in Germany, in the city of Garmisch-Partenkirchen). It extends throughout the 1933-36 build up period to the Games, and also left its imprint on the history of the Games and the Olympic ideology itself. Although it might be argued that this case was unique and is only of ephemeral historical interest, it has raised many critical comments regarding the decisions of the IOC during this period and the impact of the fascist ideological deviations on Olympic values. Moreover, further investigation is merited into how Olympic internationalism co-existed in this period with the German nationalism of Nazis, and the consequences for the Olympic Movement and the Olympic ideology thereafter.

This chapter seeks to identify to what extent Diem's dual identity, as an IOC member and as a collaborator of the Nazis, influenced his interpretation and understanding of the Olympic ideology, and how this might have had an effect on the Olympic Movement and the nature of Olympism. The chapter will examine the expression of values associated with the ideology of Olympism, and will investigate motives, interests and intentions in relation to its promotion during the period 1912-1961, as evidenced in correspondence, publications and personal records of Carl Diem. By analysing the views and ideas of Carl Diem, aspects of the power relations among the actors involved will be examined against the historical, political and cultural background of this period, providing explanations for the process of the expression of values associated with the Olympic ideology. Ultimately, the chapter will consider the degree to which values bound up with authoritarian regimes impacted upon the

meaning of Olympism, not only during the Berlin Games, but also in the period that followed them.

The chapter is divided into three main sections: a) the pre-Nazi phase: the early years of Carl Diem's involvement in the Olympic Movement (1912-1933); b) the Nazi phase which includes the preparation and hosting of the 1936 Berlin Games (1933-1936), as well as the years until and throughout the Second World War (1936-1944); and c) the post-Nazi phase, referring to the Post War period (1945-1961). In examining Carl Diem's writings throughout this period (1912-1961), the author aims to establish an understanding of the rationale underpinning the Olympic ideology, especially after the death of the founder of the Olympic Movement Pierre de Coubertin (1937), as reflected in the ideas of this leading figure in the Olympic Movement.

6.2 The Pre-Nazi Phase: The Early Years of Carl Diem's Involvement in the Olympic Movement (1912-1933)

Carl Diem was the chief official in charge of the German teams at the 1912 Stockholm Games, and he was appointed as the Secretary General of the German Reich Committee for the Olympic Games one year after the IOC's decision to award the 1916 Games to Berlin (1913). His first experience of the Olympic Games was the 1906 Games in Athens (the interim Games), where he was invited as a sports journalist (Haag 1982)¹. Although not yet familiar with the philosophy of Olympism, his activities in sport, particularly in sport administration and the German sports movement, were various.

In 1889, he founded together with other friends a sports club in Berlin, the so-called *Markomania*, in an effort to modernise the traditional gymnastic clubs. Among his several administrative posts, he was appointed as the secretary of the *Deutsche Sportbehörde für Athletik* in 1903 (German Sports Authority for Light Athletics), and as its chairman in 1908; in 1904 he became a member of the Deutsche

¹ However Mandell (1971) provides the information that Diem also led the German team in 1906 (as in 1912 Stockholm, 1928 in Amsterdam, and 1932 in Los Angeles).

Reichsausschuss für Leibesübungen, and in 1905 he became the chairman of the Association of Berlin Athletic Clubs (established in 1904) (Haag 1982; Mandell 1971). For twenty years after 1913, Diem was the secretary of the German government's Commission for Sport and Recreation (*Generalsekretär des Deutschen Reichsausschusses für Leibesübungen*) and during this time he founded and built the principal German school for recreation teachers, *Die Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen* in Cologne. During the years 1925-1935 many books were published under Diem's editorship or with his collaboration, such as *Handbuch der Leibesübungen (1923-1930)*, *Beiträge zur Turn- und Sportwissenschaft (1922-1929)*, *Taschenbuch der Leibesübungen (1925-1930)*, *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen (1924-1932)* (Haag 1982).

Due to these activities, the Carl Diem Institute has emphasised, "it was Carl Diem and his friends who laid the foundations of the German sports movement" (Carl-Diem-Institut 1970: vii). In similar vein, Mandell (1971) has argued that, "only a fanatically uncritical admirer of Pierre de Coubertin would dispute the claim that Carl Diem is the greatest sport historian and most profound theorist of sport education of this century" (p. 85). However, there is no question that Diem had been influenced by Baron Pierre de Coubertin to a great extent, especially in relation to the philosophical bases of sport underpinning the modern Olympic Games.

It is not merely physical but psychical and moral powers, which are decisive here. With the continual development of sport all the participants tend to arrive with the same standard of training, the same technique and the same level of performance. Morale will decide! Would this not be a fitting culmination to Olympic endeavour? Would not Coubertin then have gained his noblest victory? (Diem 1957c: lines 184 – 191)

As shown below, Diem had thoroughly studied Coubertin's beliefs in relation to the Olympic Games.

Firstly they [the Olympic Games] had to be suited to modern times. Coubertin did not want to build synthetic ruins or to ape antiquity. From the high Hellenic peak of human culture he took over only the Olympic Idea - the idea of a festival sanctified by the sign of peace, by dedication to idealism and to the task of perfecting the human being. For the rest the Games were to be "modern", i.e. they were to bear the impress of the age and to serve it; thus they were to be capable of change, so that each future age could in turn make its impress upon them. Secondly, they were to recur with astronomic regularity. This rhythm, echoing the ancient sense of proportion, would quicken delight in the Games ever anew, and at the same time would make manifest the continuity of their sequence. Each festival would be based on the traditions of its predecessors, but would develop these traditions by adapting

the past to the future and enriching it, and would thus point towards the future. The Games must be hitched to the future. Whatever else may shake the world, the Olympic Idea must survive indomitably in an "endless chain". The Games must therefore be a world festival, in which the youth of all nations can meet in friendship. Thirdly, Coubertin wished what he was reviving to be a genuine "festival", i.e. an ordered and regulated event of both a sporting and an artistic nature, recognisable and reproducible by its hallmarks of measure in time and space. So he founded the Games, and lived to see them renew their ancient magic; this they did because they revived an eternal human idea, an idea capable like a living cell of developing, dividing and reproducing itself. Thus the Olympic Games are timeless yet subject to time, of their age yet dedicated to the future. (Diem 1957a: lines 2 – 16)

Diem had even investigated the Italian origins of the Frédy-Coubertin family and consistently collected Coubertin's edited works (Mandell 1971). He often cited in his articles Coubertin's views, showing considerable respect for the ideas of the founder of the Olympic Movement.

In Coubertin's words, the Olympic Games are "celebrations of ambition's passionate endeavour; celebrations of every form of the urge to action in the generation whose feet are on the threshold of life"; and into these exertions, into this ambition, art must enter as a harmonising force, a force promoting harmony by reconciling opposites; it must spiritualise and ennoble the clash of muscular strength by relating it to a high vision of humanity. (Diem 1952a: lines 2 – 12)

His personal admiration to Coubertin was expressed very often in his writings,

To Baron de Coubertin, a French nobleman, is due the historic credit of having revived the Olympic Games. Efforts had already been made to this end in the fifties of the last century, but they had met with no success. Yet the representatives of almost all the civilised nations answered Coubertin's call. (Diem 1912a: lines 40 – 45)

Interestingly, in some of his articles he even sounded like Coubertin,

It seemed as though the gods of ancient Hellas, assembled in the Museum - Zeus and Apollo from the tympanum of the Temple of Zeus, Hermes sculpted by the master hand of Praxiteles, and Paionos' Victory Goddess floating aloft like a breath of air - wished once again to bless the heart, and the community gathered for the interment, with that sign of ennobled humanity which was the attribute of the Greek gods, and with that immortal radiance which we hope may be vouchsafed to Coubertin's work. (Diem 1942c: 51 –60)

However, it should be noted that Diem's expression of admiration toward the well-known and well-connected Coubertin, a leading figure in international sport at that time, could have served Diem's personal ambitions. Mandell (1971) argues, "Diem was an almost slavish admirer of Coubertin. Perhaps this reverential attitude toward

the founder was a without-which-nothing prerequisite for admission to international sport's inner council" (p. 85).

The communication between the two men became more frequent especially after the decision of the IOC to award the 1916 Olympic Games to Berlin. In relation to the host of the VIth Olympic Games (1916), Coubertin was ambiguous at the closing banquet of Stockholm (June 26, 1912), "through our mediation a great people has received the torch of the Olympiads from your hands, and has thereby undertaken to preserve and if possible to quicken its precious flame" (Coubertin 1912b: 448). He expressed the wish, "may it [the VIth Olympiad] be prepared in the fruitful labour of peaceful times. May it be celebrated, when the day comes, by all the peoples of the world in gladness and concord". Less than one month later (August 1912) Carl Diem announced in *Revue Olympique* the decision of the IOC to award the 1916 Games to Berlin,

After some discussion Berlin was unanimously chosen as the venue for the VIth Olympiad. Count Sierstorpff thanked the Committee on behalf of his colleagues and himself, and said he was sure Germany would do its utmost to lend this Olympiad a splendour befitting its importance. The International Committee immediately sent a telegram to His Majesty the German Emperor informing him of the result of the vote. It received in reply the following telegram from His Excellency the Imperial Chancellor "His Majesty the Emperor has noted with great interest that Berlin has been chosen as the host city for the 1916 Olympiad. He instructs me to send the Committee his best thanks for this welcome news. (Diem 1912c: lines 18 – 33)

In 1914, at the IOC Congress of Paris, the final details and general amendments on the sport programme of the Berlin Games were decided. Carl Diem, from his post as Secretary General of the German Reich Committee for the Olympic Games, participated in the IOC meetings and worked toward the preparation of the 1916 Olympic Games.

Germany had already worked out beforehand a detailed draft for its 1916 Games, which was one of the basic documents for the Paris discussions. However, it never opposed the well-founded views of the other nations in matters of detail, but always willingly accepted minor alterations to its programme such as were desired here and there by the responsible international sports associations, without wasting the time of the Congress in superfluous debates and votes. This attitude led firstly to a happy recognition of the German contribution such as was expressed inter alia by one of the finest heads of the assembly, the English clergyman Laffan, in the words: "We admire the integrity, the friendliness and the sporting spirit with which Germany has made its preparations for 1916 and presented them here at the Congress. "Secondly, this attitude had the happy consequence that in the one instance in which Germany took a firm stand upon a matter of principle, the other nations, which originally had

shown little sympathy for the German standpoint, gave way in their turn and even helped the German proposal to win acceptance. This happened in regard to the gymnastic programme. (Diem 1914: lines 12 – 41)

Unfortunately, the European nations were contesting their powers in many different areas, and before the congress had reached its end, the First World War had started with the invasion by Germany of Belgium (3 August, 1914) (Guttman 1992). Coubertin argues that, two weeks after the invasion, he had received proposals for transferring the Games to another city, but the Germans were too confident that they would have “a rapid war and a sure victory”, thus, “they did not ask to be relieved of the Olympic mandate” (Coubertin 1997j: 464). Interestingly, a decision had been taken from the IOC to relocate the headquarters of the IOC every four years to the host country of the next Olympic Games. Therefore, Berlin organisers had the right to transfer the headquarters to their city if they wished. In the face of this fear, Coubertin revealed in his *Olympic Memoirs* that he moved the headquarters in Paris in order to protect Olympism in case the Germans were using the right they had to transfer the registered office of the IOC to Berlin (Coubertin 1997j: 465).

These Games were finally cancelled due to the war. Nonetheless, the Germans had been very keen to host the Games as soon as the decision was announced. Coubertin underlined that, as soon as the decision was made for Berlin to hold the Games “it [Berlin] was already preparing with the manifest desire to outdo anything that had ever been done before” (Coubertin 1997b: 460). The cancellation of the Games due to the war had brought to an end all of his architectural planning and detailed scheduling of the events and celebrations. Diem had often made appeals to the public and written articles, as a means to attract spectators and gain wider support for the Games.

The next International Olympic Games, the sixth of modern times, will take place in 1916 on German soil. We invite the world to be our guests. The best of every nation will meet in Berlin and strive in peace for the prize of Olympic victory. (Diem 1914b: lines 1-4)

In his articles and appeals, he emphasised the importance of these Games for the unity of Germany and the strengthening of German national identity. However, his frequent references to racial nationalism have raised many questions concerning his ideological framework of that period and how this related to Olympic internationalism.

For a better understanding of his views it is instructive to examine the nature of German nationalism, as well as its association with the German 'physical culture'.

6.2.1 Typology of Nationalism(s): The German Model

France, Germany and the United Kingdom (UK) are represented as three ideal-typical models of nation-states each being marked by their distinctive political traditions and different histories. According to these models, France is represented as a principal example of a nation-state, which is unitarian, universalist, and egalitarian. Based on republican individualism, it perceives assimilation as a basis for equality (Kastoryano 2002). Germany, by contrast, represents the classic model of a European state attached to an 'ethnic' definition of national identity (often referred to as 'organic' nationalism), which lays emphasis on common ancestors and membership in the same cultural community (Kastoryano 2002; Boswell 2003). Finally, the UK is often presented as a case of a nation-state which is characterised by a relatively culturally pluralist and liberal conception of citizenship. Such a perspective was reinforced by a colonial understanding of 'British subjecthood' attached to the meaning of a membership on the grounds of territorial residence rather than ancestry or ethnicity (so-called *jus soli*, as opposed to *jus sanguinis*) (Boswell 2003).

It is argued that the French definition of a nation-state on the basis of unitarian and unified community was a reaction to Germany's arguments of organic bonds to justify the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine after the end of the Franco-Prussian War (1870). This is the idea that Ernest Renan developed in his 1882 lecture, entitled *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* where he criticised Heinrich von Treitschke. Whereas the former adopted a voluntary approach to the national identity of the people of the disputed territories of Alsace and Lorraine, the latter employed an ethno-linguistic criterion to explain their national culture. Renan, representing the thought of the French Romantics, believed that the role of the past, history, and 'common memory' are significant indicators of the formation of a community and ultimately a single nation. In contrast, Heinrich von Treitschke, and the German Romantic thinkers, defined nation in an absolute, 'organic' way that is determined by the underlying 'naturalness' of (ethno-linguistic) of nations (Smith 2001: 38). The German Romantic tradition "discovered the source of the national spirit, not in

history or politics, but in 'culture-made-will', in the organic linguistic culture expressed through the exercise of national will in the quest for self-realisation in statehood" (Smith 2001: 39). Interestingly, in 1918, after the defeat of the Germans, the region returned to France not on the basis of common culture or language (that the Germans hoped for), but on the grounds of political identification, the criterion which Renan had previously invoked (Kastoryano 2002).

German romanticism emerged in the early nineteenth century in reaction to French influence and the values of the French Revolution. The promotion of a membership based on culture and ethnicity countered the rationality and the universal values that the Revolution inspired (Kastoryano 2002). The German organic conception of a nation-state, and the exclusive representation of an exclusive citizenship based on ethnic identity of the 'Volk' were put forward as means to fulfil the dream of national identity, limiting collective identity only to those who shared the same ancestors, the same language, and the same culture ('ethnic' community, which would subsume many ethnicities into a single national identity, as opposed to the 'voluntarily constructed' community of the French).

6.2.2 Tension Between German Nationalism and Olympic Internationalism

With roots in the gymnastics movement of Germany, the so-called *Turnen* (gymnastics and physical exercises), had been created and developed by Ludwig Friedrich Jahn, a professor at the University of Berlin, in order to prepare the German youth for the war against Napoleon. Historical and political events in Germany in the nineteenth century determined the nature of *Turnen*, which by linking the body, discipline, military training, and nationalism became an important source of German national identity (Teschke and Rambo 2001). Jahn is also considered an influential figure in the history of the 'Volkish' tradition, a mystical, integral model of nationalism on the basis of a racial doctrine. 'Volkish' thought is based on the idea of the 'Volk' (the people), which from the late eighteenth century "signified the union of people with a transcendental essence" (Hoberman 1986: 46). Jahn perceived body as a 'politicum', through which to awaken national consciousness and collective identity, and saw physical exercises as a 'public matter' (*Leibesübungen*) (Hoberman 1984: 163).

However, in this period, the traditional German *Turnen* was competing against the Anglo-Saxon model of modern sport, which was popular across Europe and the British colonies, and which had also been introduced in Germany. Although the traditional *Turnen* emphasised mass participation for the reinforcement of a collective identity for those who shared the same language, culture and descent, the Anglo-Saxon model of sport was oriented more towards high performance and sport internationalism, which was spread through the colonies of the British Empire. This rivalry also continued in the early twentieth century, and it was an issue that concerned Carl Diem. In 1914 he wrote an article called 'Peace between *Turnen* and Sport', where he suggested the use of the definition *Leibesübungen* (physical activities) as a joint term for both movements. Haag (1970) argues that Diem, through his different sport administrative posts, always worked hard toward "the unification of these two extreme positions" (p. 26).

Interestingly, Diem combined in his thought both trends; the nationalism inspired by the *Turnen* movement, and internationalism underpinning the Anglo-Saxon modern sport. Mandell (1971) notes, Diem "was middle- and long-distance runner at a time when track events as practices among the Anglo-Saxons were almost unknown among his countrymen who were quite devoted to gymnastics" (p. 84). Therefore, Hoberman (1986) argues that Diem was familiar with a sport culture that extended beyond the narrow borders of the German sport (gymnastics) movement. This might also provide adequate explanation for his openness to the internationalism of the Olympic Movement, as opposed to the narrow-mindedness of other German sport administrators, keen supporters of the nationalist *Turnen* movement.

The Olympic Movement had a curious fate in Germany. Its efflorescence was certainly not helped by the fact that the man who was promoting it happened to be a Frenchman, and furthermore that his invitation to the First Olympic Congress did not reach the only physical education association extant in the year 1894, namely the German Gymnastic Association, but stuck in an embassy pigeon-hole. Another factor was the mistrust felt in German gymnastic circles for all foreign influences, and their both inexplicable and unfortunate aversion to sport itself - sport which has nonetheless become the great driving power sustaining the vitality of the civilised world; thus in Germany the Olympic idea had to fight against the elected officials instead of being helped along by them. (Diem 1920b: lines 2 – 29)

Some years later (1933), he refers again to the rivalry between the interests of the Olympic Movement and the German gymnastics associations.

Of course this [the development of the Olympic Movement in Germany] has not happened without friction. You are aware that in German gymnastic circles there is a widespread aversion to the Games. They are said to be forcing houses of specialisation and the cult of the ace performer. To say this is to blame them for something, which is a hallmark of the times. These regrettable side effects are of course observable elsewhere than at the Olympic Games, and it would be absurd to assert that they are the result of a Festival recurring once every four years. (Diem 1933a: lines 83 – 95)

His belief in internationalism of the Games was often expressed in his writings, providing evidence that his thought was not limited to the national interests of Germany.

Any country of today which wishes to import the Olympic idea into a festival intended for its own nationals only, as we Germans do, must refrain from looking upon itself as the sole perfecter of the antique tradition, for it is actually importing into the Games a restriction which, although quite justifiable in itself, was thoroughly strange to the Greeks. (Diem 1920a: lines 102 – 115)

Moreover, Diem travelled to the United States after the Stockholm Games (1912), in order to examine the sport system of the American schools and colleges that led the Americans to their great success in the recent Games. So he brought with him American teachers and coaches that would help Germany develop its sporting system according to the Olympic standards (Haag 1982).

Some countries — particularly the English-speaking countries and Sweden — have reached higher standards in a number of sports than we have. This is because all classes in these countries have had the habit of sport for a longer period of time, because training is more thorough and physical culture better supported. So it is our duty to make such an all-out effort that we can catch up with them in the short time between now and July 1916; for it simply isn't consonant with German prestige to organise the Games and then be consistently beaten in them. (Diem 1942c: lines 4 – 11)

All the same, Diem also acknowledged the value of sport for the strengthening of the German national identity, while he perceived that defeat in sport could have a negative impact on the national interests (and prestige) of Germany.

The forthcoming Olympic Games are the sixth of these international Gymnastic and sports occasions, which have to an increasing degree become important cultural events uniting all the civilised nations of the world. With the approval of His Majesty the Emperor the German Olympic Committee has declared itself ready to organise the 1916 Games, and the German sports and gymnastics movement feels in honour bound to uphold the German name by organising a festival of classic splendour. For it

has become clear that the public of the whole civilised world takes a strong interest in these Games. If the Reich persists in withholding the subsidy, preparations will be seriously hampered, and the Games will lose standing because of the implication that they are a purely private affair and have no government support; the favourable effects on public opinion of state recognition will be lost. The formation of a team worthy to compete with those of visiting countries will also be hampered if the government does not back the Games in the way the Swedish Government did in 1912. (Diem 1942d: lines 7 – 18)

Interestingly, as shown below, in his efforts to encourage the Germans to have a positive attitude toward the Berlin Games (1916), Diem often expressed his views on a basis of a racial nationalism, which resembled the ideas of the supporters of *Turnen* and the 'Volkish ideology'.

6.2.3 Diem and the 'Volkish' ideology

The Volkish doctrine had gained much popularity among the right-wing circles of Germany by the 1920s. Its major themes were: mystical racism (the preservation of German racial identity), xenophobic nationalism, anti-Semitism, anti-industrialism, anti-intellectualism and anti-modernism. In relation to the anti-internationalist outlook of the Volkish mentality, George Mosse (1981) has pointed out the following,

The image of the city always conjured up the dread of the rootless elements, their incompatibility with the Volk, and an antagonism to foreign persons or cultures. Volkish thinkers saw the spectre of internationalism in the rapid expansion of the cities. [Wilhelm] Riehl, who was credited with this apocalyptic vision, criticised big cities for wanting to become international urban centres, to achieve equality with all the large cities in the world and form a community of interest. Within such a union, Riehl feared, the world 'bourgeoisie' and 'world proletariat' would recognise their mutual compatibility and exercise a suzerainty over a world in which all that was natural had been destroyed, especially the estates. (Cited in Hoberman 1986: 100-1)

The Weimar Republic, after the First World War, became more international and urban in response to the modernisation processes of that period. Therefore, the rise of the conservative, right-wing Volkish ideology in the 1920s represented the resistance to such developments. In relation to modern sport, there was also resistance to the international trends of this period, an approach that goes back to Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the founder of the nationalist gymnastics movement in Germany. It has been argued that the ideological preconceptions of Nazi sport theory derive to some extent from the doctrine of Jahn (Hoberman 1984; 1986). One contributor to the *Deutsche Turnzeitung* had noted, "*Jahngeist is Hitlergeist*", while

Hajo Bernett has commented, "the 'fascistoid' spirit of the national [*völkischen*] movement is evident" (cited in Hoberman 1984: 163). The conservative thinkers disapproved the introduction of technical improvements, the specialisation, the chasing of records and the excessive training. Their biggest critique was that modern sport promoted individualism at the expense of the collective benefits, thus at the expense of the interests of the 'Volk'. The aversion to the competitive and international Olympic Games was often expressed by traditional conservative thinkers such as Astley and Maurras, followers of the ideology of the 'Volk'.

The real Olympic Games were national to the core, and that was their glory; the international Olympics are rotten to the core. Don't talk to us about the brotherhood of man and those false notions about humanity. The brotherhood of man can be achieved only on the basis of economic agreements. Nationalities cannot be talked out of existence, and they cannot be mixed together (Neuendorff, 1910; cited in Hoberman 1986: 101).

Interestingly, Hoberman (1986) argues that Carl Diem was influenced by the conservative Volkish ideology, traits of which are often reflected in his writings.

Diem's writing prior to 1945 is permeated with Volkish themes and a Volkish vocabulary. But how, one might ask, is this sort of nationalism compatible with the internationalist ideals of the Olympic Movement Diem served? The answer, as we shall see, is to be found in the profound ambiguity, which marks Diem's relationship to Volkish thought. In some cases Diems simply departs from certain Volkish tenets; on others he plays with Volkish vocabulary, using nationalist terms on behalf of a hidden internationalist doctrine...One might add that it was most surely Diem's love of sport that modified his Volkish bent (p. 47).

In line with Hoberman's argument, the author has also identified elements of the Volkish ideology in Diem's writings, especially in the period before 1945. However, it is not clear whether Diem uses nationalist terms on behalf of a hidden internationalist doctrine, rather than international terms on behalf of a hidden nationalist one. In other words, his writings are ambiguous in terms of whether his prime political interests lay in the advancement of Germany or of the Olympic Movement, raising concerns about how the conflicting ideological attributes of these two doctrines co-existed in his thought and actions. He often emphasised the benefits to nations of their representation in the large-scale festival of the Olympic Games.

The Games are more than just a sports festival or a meeting of unemployed sports fans or sports diplomats who are enjoying a pleasant journey. They are a world festival, the only world festival in existence, the embodiment of the only collective world idea, which is visibly and collectively celebrated. That is no trivial thing. To begin with they embrace the whole content of the idea for which all friends of gymnastics since Plato, Vittorino da Feltre, Jahn and v. Schenckendorff have been fighting: *"service to the fatherland through physical culture"*. (Diem 1932: 18 – 24, emphasis added)

In examining Diem's writings in relation to the three major Volkish themes - modernity, nationalism, and race - has been found that, especially during the period of preparations for the Berlin Games in 1916, Diem seems to have shared tenets of the ideology.

The Anti-Modernist View

In the face of the preparations for the 1916 Berlin Games, Diem planned the building of a big stadium that would essentially be used for the Olympics but would also contribute to the promotion of modern sport in Germany. He has emphasised in relation to this,

It is only too well-known that the mighty growth of the German cities is causing, as a disturbing reverse side of the coin, an enervation of the rising generations. Everywhere efforts are being made to combat the looming dangers of this phenomenon by the promotion of gymnastics, sport and open-air play. Only those who are concerned in this work know how slowly it is advancing and how far we still are from the goal. This is not the least of the reasons why all the related efforts in this field tend instinctively or consciously towards an intellectual and physical focus uniting them all and enhancing their driving power. This can however in the last analysis only be a national arena where all those who bear aloft the banner of bodily strength and skill may meet together, and where at regular intervals national, regional and more specialised championships may be held. Who would hesitate to admit the recruiting value of such a centre to the great common crusade? There can be no better way of rousing the laggards and spurring the ambition and dynamism of the active than to create an opportunity for young men from the whole of Germany to compete before the eyes of the nation for the glory of being best of the best. And furthermore, how the sense of unity of the German stocks will be strengthened when youths and men from every corner of the homeland can meet regularly to test their strength und skill! *What a chance for North and South, West and East, still largely ignorant of one another and therefore prone to baneful misconceptions about one another, to get acquainted, to learn to understand and respect one another, and to develop a sense of belonging together! Thus the strengthening of a common and healthy patriotism will be a fine fruit of the German stadium.* (Diem 1920b: lines 89 – 133, emphasis added)

From the above quote, two major doctrinal themes of the Volkish ideology can be identified in Diem's words. First, he seems to be appalled by the effects of the industrialisation and he adopts an anti-modernist view. A 'disturbing' effect is the 'enervation of the rising generations'. The Volkish ideology was known for its hostility to industrialisation and its aversion to the modern age (Hoberman 1986). Diem was strongly influenced by this hostility, "passive joys which to some extent signify nothing more than a febrile stimulation of the brain: films, revues, magazines, sport" (1927; cited in Hoberman 1986: 48). However, he saw in sport a great opportunity to balance the negative effects of industrialisation and the advanced technology, "so today the civilised nations thereby testify that even in the age of technology and the division of labour they preserve and foster physical culture as the basis of health, strength and hence progress in the life of both the individual and the nation (Diem 1912b: lines 21-31). In similar vein, he stated elsewhere, "Through sporting activity the human race preserves that intact vitality which is menaced by the effects on the human organism of present-day technical advances" (Diem 1954: lines 2-8). In relation to the benefits of the Olympic Games in the modern era, he argued, "Humanity needs this element [of chivalrous contests] in education of youth as a counterpoise to the degenerative effects of civilisation (Diem 1906a: 18-19 lines), while some years later he also emphasised, "the Games through their influence on all cultured nations have helped to lift up the human race and to counter the morbid forces in civilised existence" (Diem 1923: lines 326-332). When he witnessed in the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games the advancement of sport technology and its influence in sport performance, he expressed in frustration,

Can this go on? When will we reach the limits of human capacity? As long as human intelligence continues to improve the conditions of life, and as long as nature responds with enhanced growth and accelerated physical development, so long will there be a natural improvement in physical accomplishments (Diem 1957c: lines 69-73).

Nonetheless, despite his hostility toward the technical advances, Diem, as a sport person and a sport bureaucrat, also recognised their benefits on the improvement of sport techniques, "sport is technology, a refinement of methods and equipment; the very essence of sport implies refinement, that is, the capacity of movement to be 'technologised', and yet it is also a flight out of the wasteland of our technologised age. Sport is a tension between technology and romanticism" (1941; cited in Hoberman 1986: 48).

Nationalism

The second point to be rehearsed in this part of the analysis is Diem's Volkish nationalism, which is found throughout his writings of this period. Diem, in planning to build a big stadium in Berlin, wanted to create a 'national arena' that would contribute to 'the great common crusade'. Central to the Volkish ideology was the unification of Germany and the need for a collective, 'German' conscience. Diem encourages the Germans to unify and compete against each other in the sport arena, and he argued this would be a great chance "for North and South, West and East [Germany], still largely ignorant of one another and therefore prone to baneful misconceptions about one another, to get acquainted, to learn to understand and respect one another, and to develop a sense of belonging together!" (Diem 1920b: lines 129-133). He has made some overtly nationalistic statements, "to be German must mean to demand the world for Germany" (1925; cited in Hoberman 1986: 47) or "we Germans feel more universal" (1926; cited in Hoberman 1986: 46). It is obvious from many of his writings, as for instance in the quote below, where he encourages the German team to perform well in the 1912 Stockholm Games, that the national interests of Germany concerned him to a great extent.

"Set foot in the stadium and become men who understand how to conquer". Thus Philostrate once urged the youth of Greece. We expect no less today from German youth. What is at stake is our ability to demonstrate to the nations the all-round education of our youth and the vitality of our people. It is therefore a patriotic duty to ensure that the German nation, the nation of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, is worthily represented at this international festival. (Diem1912b: lines 43 – 48)

By making references to the founder of the nationalist German Gymnastics movement, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, Diem highlights the importance of the Olympics Games as a terrain for international political affairs. Thus, while he supports the Games and their international character, he also sees them as a tool for the development of Germany.

In the same way there is implicit in the Olympic Idea the triumphant pursuit of that inward delight in life which fills us when we exercise the body; implicit within it at the same time is the awareness that through this exercise we are not only promoting our personal well-being but also acquitting, a duty to the greater community. *The Olympic athletes compete "for the honour of their country" as the Olympic oath puts it. To understand the Games one must see how the competitors expend their last ounce of strength, more utterly than in any other contest. One must then see the intense emotion with which they salute their country's flag - with which not only they but everyone salutes*

it, each for the honour of his country, but all in the service of the human ideal which Jahn said animates the gymnastic art. (Diem 1933a: lines 145 – 156, emphasis added)

In relation to the Berlin Games (1916), Diem emphasised that they should be 'treated' as a national affair.

This backing is essential if we are to have an all-round success in the Games. The Olympic Committee wishes not merely total-round success in the Games. The Olympic Committee wishes not merely to gain a few victories, but to field a team of uniformly well-trained and successful athletes. It therefore wishes to draw the team from all classes of the population, the poor just as much as the well-to-do. The Olympic Trials being held in the Army, together with many other proposed events, are in themselves a guarantee that all healthy sons of the nation will be challenged to represent their country in the Olympic Games. (Diem 1942d: 48 – 59)

Henry et al. (2003) argue, "sport is subject to political regulation by states, is a key source of cultural and national identity and is a tool of international relations as well as a significant sector in the growing service economy" (p. 296). As it appears from his statements, Diem was aware of this.

In these Games it will be up to us to prove German organising capacity, repay the lavish hospitality which we have enjoyed in 1896 and 1906 in Athens, in 1900 in Paris, in 1904 in St. Louis, in 1908 in London and in 1912 in Stockholm, *and show the world our fatherland in its beauty and its industrial, commercial and military might; it will be up to us to demonstrate the unfailing springs of our national vigour and vitality through the prowess of our young men in gymnastics and sport; above all it will be up to us to fill these international Games with a German spirit and use them for our own development.* They must shine like a torch in the twilight of our half-recognition of the need to strengthen our youth through rational physical exercise; we must look upon them as the testing day in preparation for which we must transform all lukewarmness, ignorance and recalcitrance into active cooperation. For will not every mother and father, every authority and every community derive satisfaction and tangible benefit if young people's academic studies are supplemented by a toughening of their limbs and will, through gymnastics, sport, games or walking? (Diem 1942b: 15 – 44, emphasis added)

All the same, despite his nationalistic references, it should be noted that he was often attacked by Volkish ideologists, who opposed him for his international ideas and his faith in the event of the Olympic Games. Therefore, due to this tension between his nationalist and internationalist standpoints, Diem should not be considered as a representative of the conservative side of the ideology. In relation to this, Hoberman (1986) has emphasised, "Diem's persistent coupling of the national and the international put him at the liberal end of the Volkish spectrum" (p. 47). However, most of his statements regarding the preparation of German youth for the

1912 Stockholm and 1916 Berlin Olympic Games included strong racist references, which also raise concerns about his ideological positioning in this period.

Race

In contrast to the Nazi position in relation to the Jewish population, there is no evidence that Diem was an anti-Semite. Interestingly, Diem's wife was known to have a Jewish ancestor, while Diem has claimed that even before 1933 the Nazis reproached him as a 'white Jew' on the basis of his international circles (Hoberman 1986; Guttman 1992). However, references to the superiority of the German race and the preservation of German racial identity are frequent in his writings, especially in the period 1912-1914. As seen below, he emphasised the superiority of the German race, as reflected in the sporting level of the German team in the Stockholm Olympic Games (1912),

German athletics has worn out its baby shoes. It has a sturdy organisation, is recognized by the authorities and public opinion, and most important of all has youth and the army on its side. It is firmly rooted in the vitality of the German race, and trained and directed by German intelligence and organising ability. German athletes are therefore now expected to compete successfully with the world's best and to wipe out by the superior qualities of the German race the lead of nations, which took to sport at an earlier date. All of us — the competitors who wear the national colours, we who advise and help them, and the whole German sports community — must put our backs into preparing and executing this enterprise in which the honour of our country is at stake. If we all pull together, if as it were a wave of patriotic enthusiasm carries us along, then success will come, and the black-white-red colours will flaunt gaily in the breeze above the bright sea of banners on the topmost mast of the granite stadium in Stockholm. (Diem: lines 88 – 112, emphasis added)

Diem emphasises again the importance of 'German unity' and the collectiveness of the 'Volk' in the face of international sport rivalries. Such a perspective, which takes us back to the objectives of the nationalist Gymnastics movement of Jahn, combined with the elements of racial nationalism regarding the "superior qualities of the German race" provide evidence that Diem was influenced by the Volkish ideology. In similar vein, in his appeal to the German nation, as part of his efforts to increase the popularity of the forthcoming Olympic Games in Berlin (1916), he emphasised,

The German Stadium, which is to be opened by the Emperor next spring in Berlin as the first and most important achievement of the German Reich Committee for Olympic Games, will fill up with skilful and well trained youths who need fear no

opponent anywhere in the world; the blessed outcome of the whole movement will be a strong race! With this aim the German Reich Committee for Olympic Games appeals for the support of the German people. (Diem 1942b: lines 74 – 82, emphasis added)

In similar vein, in his appeal to the German Reich government, he underlined the benefits of the Olympic Games on the interests of the German race.

German youth has greeted the preparations with enthusiasm. All classes of the population are fired with the Olympic spirit. The clubs and associations are already encountering an ardent response to the challenge of the new and important tasks with which they are confronted, and note with satisfaction the animation and the wave of interest in their work. We appeal to the Reichstag to help in this task. *The underlying purpose of the Olympic Games in [sic] missionary. Their happy fruit will be a sturdy race.* (Diem 1942d: lines 67 – 76, emphasis added)

As part of his efforts to promote the imminent Berlin Games (1916), Diem stated, "The effort will be worthwhile, not only because of the successes we may expect in the Games themselves, but because of the popularisation of physical culture, which should give us a healthy and militarily fit race" (Diem 1942c: lines 20 – 24). One might argue that Diem used nationalistic vocabulary in order to promote a hidden international doctrine, but this does not counter to the fact that Diem actually saw the Olympic Games as a great opportunity for Germany to prepare its youth for military purposes, which reminds us of the rationale underpinning Coubertin's early motives in promoting modern sport in France. However, Diem, unlike Coubertin, is driven by his Germanic organic nationalism (centred upon descent and ethnicity) and focuses on the preservation of German racial identity and its further advancement. Mandell (1974) has argued, "one might believe from much of Diem's writing in the period 1937-1941 that his plans for sport had always been paramilitary, super-patriotic and totalitarian" (p. 11). However, it may be argued that his writings in the period 1912-1914 also provide evidence of such themes.

Carl Diem's emphasis on race was also linked to classical Hellenism, and the value of 'perfection'.

What was the underlying idea of these contests, which enthralled the Greek people for a whole millennium, while they maintained a level of culture, which has never been regained? *They were a hymn of praise to the perfect human being! Their purpose was to ensure that the victor won his laurels "through work and self-discipline as the noblest and most refined product of his race"* (Diem 1920a: lines 2 – 15, emphasis added)

Diem's interpretation of Hellenism reflects the German tradition, which stressed the 'Apollonian' calm and clarity of the Hellenic art. The 'beauty' and 'perfection' were often central themes to German Hellenistic interpretations (Stephens 1989). This can be explained by the organic character of the German nationality, which, in contrast to the voluntarist ideal of nationality of the French romantics like Renan, the German Romantic ideology was typical for its organicism and determinism centred upon race and ethnicity (Smith 2001). The perfection of the race had become a core value and it is argued that this ideological approach directed the Germans to an ethnic nationalism and a biological determinism for the superiority of the Aryan race. The 'aesthetics of the body' is a theme, which was central to both Jahn's cult of the body and Nazi sport theory. Both ideologies were inspired by the aesthetic values of the ancient Greek civilisation, but they focused on the 'perfect' bodies and elements of 'physical beauty', thus re-inventing the Hellenic tradition on the basis of their own past and culture. Hermann Glaser criticizes the German interpretation of Hellenism as "an exaltation of the physical which became part of common culture... a literally maniacal craving for beauty which was coupled with the repression of truthfulness" during the latter part of the nineteenth century (cited in Hoberman 1984: 164). He argues,

[The National Socialists] endowed the 'Greco-National Socialist' body with a 'grace', which really spelled brutality, and with a form of dignity, which reflected racial arrogance. Anatomy was trump... Classicism was cancelled out in the name of classicism: man was beautiful not to be true and free, graceful or ennobled, but rather to entice race-conscious copulation". (Cited in Hoberman 1984: 164).

Therefore, Diem's references to elements of 'perfection' and 'racial refinement' should be seen in connection with the German interpretation of Hellenism, thus implying that in relation to racialism his perspective was closer to the racial aesthetic values underpinning the Volkish thought, and also the Nazi ideology which appeared later, than the values of any real humanism.

6.3 The Nazi Phase (1933-1944)

The cancellation of the Games due to the Great War came as a big disappointment to Carl Diem, who, as seen above, had worked hard for their realisation. Mandell (1971) claims that “a calamity for young Carl Diem had been the cancelling, due to the Great War, of the VIth Olympiad, intended for Berlin in 1916. The war wiped out years of his architectural planning and detailed scheduling of the events and festivities” (p. 85). However, immediately after the end of the war, Diem continued to work for the development of the sport movement in Germany. One of his most favoured projects was the establishment of the *Deutsche Sporthochschule für Leibesübungen* in Berlin on May 15, 1920. This institution was under the supervision of the *Deutsche Reichsausschuss für Leibesübungen*. This foundation, being independent of any state influence and help, was a teachers’ training school for physical education and a research centre that collaborated with the University of Berlin (Haag 1982). New research possibilities emerged due to this centre and especially in the years from 1925 to 1935, Diem became very active in writing and editing many books and articles (Mandell 1971; Haag 1982).

However, in the years that followed the war, it had been difficult for Germany to be received again into international sport circles as it was excluded from any international sport competitions, including the Olympic Games, as a war aggressor. Since the German invasion of neutral Belgium had been the trigger for Great Britain to participate in the war, the IOC decided that it was important to stage the first post-war Games in Antwerp symbolising the end of the war (Guttman 1992). As seen before, major political issues emerged when the IOC had to decide which countries would be allowed and which would be banned from participating in the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp. The authority was finally given to the host city organising committee to decide which countries it would invite. As a result, it was not until 1928 that the Germans appeared again at the Olympic Games and it was not until 1931 that French and German teams competed against each other on the soccer field (Guttman 1992). Interestingly, during the period of the exclusion, Diem introduced the *Deutsche Kampfspiele*, a sport festival appearing every four years between the Olympic Games, for all Germans around the world. The *Deutsche*

Kampfspiele was held in 1922 in Berlin, 1926 in Cologne, 1930 in Breslau and 1934 in Nuremberg (Haag 1982).

At the Olympic congress held in Berlin in 1930, Theodor Lewald, IOC member for Germany and leading figure in German sport circles, and Carl Diem had worked hard to demonstrate to the International Olympic Committee that Berlin was a suitable host for the Olympic Games in 1936. Lewald had remarked, "here [at the congress] we detonated our bombs" (cited in Guttman 1992: 53). After the successful re-appearance of Germany at the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928, the IOC was convinced that Germany could undertake the role of host for the 1936 Olympic Games. However, in awarding the 1936 Games to Berlin in 1931 (the decision was announced on May 13, 1931) the IOC was awarding it to the Weimar Republic, a centrist coalition. Unfortunately, a few years later the National Socialists seized power and Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany. Guttman (1992) emphasised, "this state of affairs was certainly not what the IOC had expected when Berlin was chosen as the site of the Games" (p. 53). Both the IOC and the Nazis, each for their own reasons, faced the question of whether they should proceed with the hosting of the Games.

6.3.1 The Berlin Games of 1936

Krüger (1971) has pointed out that as long as the Nazis were an opposition party, they could not see any benefit in supporting an Olympiad that would enhance the prestige of their democratic opponents (cited in Hoberman 1986: 103). However, after they seized power, on March 16, 1933, Hitler and his close collaborator Joseph Goebbels met with Theodor Lewald, the chairman of the German Organising Committee, and confirmed their interest in the Games (Hoberman 1986; Guttman 1992; Roche 2000). Although they were critical and deeply suspicious of the Olympic Movement because of its internationalist trends that opposed their hypernationalism and aversion to anything non-German, they finally considered it a great opportunity to demonstrate to the world what Germany had achieved under this National Socialistic dictatorship (Haag 1982; Hoberman 1986; Krüger 1999; Roche 2000). To this end, the state government granted every financial support and put every effort to make these Games very successful propaganda for its regime. Carl Diem, albeit

not officially registered in the Nazi party (Mandell 1971; Hoberman 1986), was the chief organiser and general secretary of the games. He initiated many innovations in the realisation of the Games. He wanted all the facilities to be together at the same place – for the first time in the history of the Games - he held cultural events in the *Waldbühne* theatre to emphasise the artistic and cultural character of the Games and he ordered a bell tower to be erected as a symbol of the calling of the youth of the world (*Ich rufe die Jugend der Welt*). Another novelty was the torch relay from Olympia in Greece to Berlin. He believed that “the aim of the relay was to emphasise the spiritual vitality and moral value of the Games both in ancient and modern times, and to show that the same idealism fills the youth of today” (Diem 1942: lines 17 – 21). His focus was on the youth of the world,

The fire having once been carried from Olympia to Berlin for the 1936 Games, the idea of such a link refused to die away. For it symbolises devotion to the common ideal, which the Olympic celebration embodies, and the wish to implicate not only the actual competitors in the Games but the still uncommitted youth of the world. (Diem 1940: lines 15 – 20)

In relation to the torch relay, Roche (2000) argues, “This was a product of Diem’s long-standing and probably sincere sporting and Hellenic idealism. However, in this new Nazi context of the mid-1930s it inevitably carried with it some shadowy and suspect connotations and implications” (p. 117). Olympia had been used as a site for the ancient Greek Games for around a thousand years, representing, as such, a kind of ‘a thousand year civilisation’. This inspired Hitler and his ‘vision’ of a ‘Thousand Year Reich’ (Roche 2000: 117).

As indicated earlier, elements of Hellenism, such as ‘beauty’ and ‘perfection’, were central themes to the German Hellenistic interpretations (Stephens 1989), underpinning the Nazi’s ideological approach of ethnic nationalism and biological determinism in the superiority of the Aryan race. This is also reflected in the images transmitted in the film ‘Olympia’ by Leni Reifenstahl, which presented bodies of athletes resembling ancient Greek statues. Thus, in this context, Diem’s innovation of the torch relay might raise some ‘unfair’ suspicions about his true motives regarding the linkage between modern Germany and ancient Olympia. However, as suggested earlier, Diem’s Hellenic idealism shared common characteristics with the German Hellenic interpretations of his period, including those of the Nazis. Interestingly,

Finley and Pleket (1976) have noted that Hitler held a meeting with the IOC in 1936 during the Olympic Games, where he announced that the Third Reich would finance the completion of the excavations that were taking place in ancient Olympia (cited in Roche 2000: 242), an issue which also concerned Diem (with his classicist interests) and to which we shall return later in this chapter.

Another innovation devised by Diem was the Festival Play (often referred to in the literature as the 'Pageant of Youth'), which included gymnastic displays demonstrated by 10,000 participants. The evening festivities ended with the choral performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

People are expecting Germany to give the long hoped for artistic expression to the Olympic Games, and I believe I am not deluding myself when *I affirm that the Festival Play as at present conceived completely fulfils this wish, represents the climax of the Games, and is a unique opportunity to give the world a notion of German creative power.* If the IXth Symphony is omitted the Festival Play is reduced to a sporting spectacle in artistic guise, very good in its way, but still commonplace. (Diem 1936a: lines 27-33, emphasis added)

In the Berlin Games, Diem saw an opportunity for Germany to project its image in the international sport arena of the Olympic Games and to be re-established in international political affairs after the disaster of the Great War. For this reason, he appealed to the German sport and gymnastics circles to put aside their rivalries and fight together for a sole and common purpose which was no other than the advancement of Germany.

Despite the German tendency for everyone to make his own Reich policy, we must now be united. The decision on the Games has already been taken. All discussions as to the rights and wrongs of it are now pointless. The need now is to lend a hand, even if one had objections to the Games. *The task now is to stage them in such a way as to win heightened respect for Germany and to show Germany to foreigners.* There are other and more important ways of doing these things. But we have no right to disregard this way, let alone to jeopardise it. *Other countries respect sporting achievements as a visible sign of unimpaired youthful vigour, and sporting organisation as a proof that a nation can close its ranks even in small matters, when its good name is at stake. Germany's reputation in the world depends on many things. If we improve this reputation in 1936, then we will have helped to deepen the world's faith in our mission. This faith, an astonishing faith, is growing. It is no insignificant factor in our struggle for a place in the sun. So let us put all doubts in the pending file for four years and set about the collective task —gymnastic teachers, gymnasts, sportsmen, government, and people!* (Diem 1932: lines 329 – 357, emphasis added)

In similar vein, Diem emphasised the important national character of the Games, which made it necessary for all Germans to participate and support the event.

After my experiences in the United States [he refers to the 1932 Los Angeles Games] / *am convinced that the 1936 Games will have an international appeal*, which will put all other events in the shade. We must expect more competitors, but the rules set an upper limit to their numbers; on the other hand we must certainly expect tens of thousands of visitors, and above all German emigrants. In this matter we cannot begin too early with preparations and publicity. *The 1936 Games must be both an international and a great German festival. In point of numbers they may well be the greatest pan-German festival in Germany. On the home front this calls for certain solidarity. The Olympic Games are in sober fact an affair not only of the sports movement but of the people.* (Diem 1932: lines 302 – 322, emphasis added)

Therefore, Diem perceived the Games as a vehicle that Germany could use in order to demonstrate to the world her new image. His writings reflect this approach,

Thus the Games shape a new outlook and a new generation. The world expects us Germans to stage this world festival impeccably, to carry it out in a perfect sporting spirit, and to fill it with intelligence and art. We shall have to commit all our talent and to make sacrifices both of time and money. *They must and will be made for the sake of the Olympic Idea and the glory of Germany.* (Diem 1937: lines 18 – 26, emphasis added)

To this end, he planned in great detail every technical aspect of the Games to ensure their success for the best interests of Germany. His innovations, while in agreement with the international ideals of the Olympic Movement, were also carrying elements of German interests, reflecting a general effort to demonstrate the power of the new Germany to the world.

A complete novelty and a graceful way of honouring the victor was introduced by putting into effect a proposal by Mr. Rothe that all victors returning to their native land should be given an oak shoot in memory of their victory in Germany. For this purpose small one-year old seedlings of the German pedicle oak '*quercus pedunculata*' from the Holstein Marshes were taken into horticultural care from the spring of 1935. They were planted in special earth, repeatedly pruned, hardened against weather, treated with special pesticides and cultivated with the utmost care for their later purpose. Having grown into sturdy young plants, they were transferred to special pots decorated with the Olympic Bell and an inscription "Grow in honour of victory — call to further exploits". After being handed to the victor they were packed in convenient cartons specially designed for transport to the most distant countries — *a handsome symbol of German character, German strength, German vigour and German hospitality.* (Diem 1937: lines 342 – 365, emphasis added)

Diem incorporated in the programme of the Games many theatrical and ritual elements, which had long been part of German nationalistic culture and tradition (Roche 2000). However, although Diem was Hitler's festival master, he was "far less compromised – and far less repentant – than the dramaturge of the Nuremberg rallies" (Hoberman 1986: 49). Moreover, as discussed before, Diem has claimed that the Nazis denounced him as a 'white Jew' due to "his foreign affinities" (Krüger 1975; cited in Hoberman: 50; Guttman 1992). In relation to this, it should be noted that the Nazis, as soon as they seized power, dismissed Diem from all his posts except that of the Games Secretary General (Haag 1982, Guttman 1992). For all these reasons, one might suggest that Diem's fear of losing his job made him compromise with the Nazi's demands and include strong nationalistic references in his writings. Mandell (1971) has noted, "Diem was, then, for a long time one of those in the silent opposition" (p. 240), but the author, agreeing with Hoberman (1986), posits the opinion that the issue of Diem's relationship with the Nazis must be "open to question" (p. 49). After the end of the Games, Diem expressed his enthusiasm and satisfaction about the success of the Games.

Never before has an Olympic Festival been attended by such multitudes of spectators, so much interest been shown in sport or such a degree of enthusiasm for the Olympic ideals. Throughout Germany, and especially in Berlin, the people expressed their joyful interest in the Festival by decorating their dwellings, sincerely hoping that the Olympic Games would constitute a means of establishing understanding and peace, both of which they feel are so necessary. (Diem 1936c: lines 19 – 39)

Interestingly, Diem, in his writings from that period, did not raise any personal concerns or make any remarks about the political problems that surrounded the Berlin Games, except some official statements after a session of the IOC regarding these issues. In 1935 Germany adopted the Nuremberg Laws, which meant that Jews or those of 'mixed blood' were not eligible for German citizenship. This also meant that Jews could not be admitted to the German team. The ideological discrepancy between the values underpinning the Nazi doctrine and the Olympic Charter had been a major issue in the discussions of the IOC during the meeting in Vienna on June 7, 1933 (Guttman 1992). In 1933 the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), the principal sports federation in the United States, voted to boycott the Games unless the treatment of the Jews was improved (Toohey and Veal 2000). The Nazis responded by providing oral or written guarantees confirming that Jews would be allowed to participate in the Games.

After this declaration Mr. Garland wished to have it known that the American Olympic Committee, who were desirous of having the United States strongly represented at the next Olympic Games in Europe, would have had to give up participation altogether if German Jewish Athletes had not been assured the same terms as members of the same faith in other countries. General Sherrill added that the satisfactory statement made by the President would give great pleasure in the United States. (Diem 1933b: lines 45 – 55)

Notwithstanding the re-assurances, the Americans threatened a boycott. A Gallup poll taken in March 1935 showed 43 percent of the American population to agree with a boycott. Moreover, because the track-and-field team contained many black athletes, Afro-American reactions to the boycott campaign were also quite significant. A 'Committee to Oppose the Olympic Games' was formed in Prague. Russia and Spain announced that they would not participate in the Games (Toohey and Veal, 2000). As a response to the world reaction, twenty-one German Jews from the Makkabi and Schild organisations were invited as 'candidates' for the German team, but in the end none was selected (Guttman 1992). Avery Brundage, who after his close observation in Germany had 'strangely' re-assured the AAU that there was no difference in the treatment of Jews in comparison with any other German, played an important role in preventing the boycott¹ (Guttman 1992).

Therefore, questions are raised as to why Diem has not referred to any of these issues throughout his writings. Moreover, in his *World History of Sport and Physical Culture* (1960), Diem argued that the critics only started claiming that the Berlin Olympiad was used as propaganda for the Nazis after the collapse of the regime, a claim which Hoberman (1986: 50) has called 'absurd and dishonest' for not mentioning the resistance and worldwide expression of disdain which *preceded* the Games. Diem's approach here might be explained as defensiveness about his own role in the production of shameful propaganda. It might have been difficult for Diem to confess that, albeit being aware of the nationalistic propaganda devised by the Nazis, he still worked with them and contributed to their success. However, it is unclear from his writings in the post-Nazi phase whether he ever regretted his collaboration with the Nazis. Showing evidence of astonishingly selective memory

¹ Brundage's approach to this issue has raised many concerns about his motives, and any hidden anti-Semitic sympathies. For more see Guttman (1992).

and with no apologetic intentions, he argued in relation to the post-war exclusion of Germany:

If Germany's youth is thinking about taking part in the Olympic Games, it is doing so because it rightly knows that it can be outdone by no one in the world in true devotion to sporting ideals, and because it feels that it belongs when the youth of the world is assembling to honour these ideals. There is no stain upon its Olympic loyalty. In 1936 we carried out the last Olympic Games faultlessly in accordance with our international mandate. They passed off without anyone daring to deny the Olympic spirit or even to offend against it. That this is so, is irrefutably proved by the fact that at the meeting of the International Olympic Committee in June 1939 in London, Germany by secret written vote unexpectedly received a unanimous request to prepare the 1940 Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Had there been any infringement of the Olympic spirit to complain of in 1936 at least one member of the International Olympic Committee would have handed in a white slip of paper. Even during the whole war we continued up to the collapse to perform without a break the Olympic duties which we had taken over, e. g. the publication of the official International Olympic Review; we loyally preserved the Olympic flame, and as a final gift as late as 1944 endowed the presentation volume for the 50th Jubilee of the Committee, and handed over the reference work, the Olympic Lexikon. (Diem 1948: lines 29 – 56, emphasis added)

His genuine love for sport and faith in the development of sport movement in Germany might have led him to develop a kind of self-denial and refusal to understand the wider political circumstances, which unavoidably influenced the decision of the IOC regarding the exclusion of Germany. Moreover, his personal links with the Olympic Movement, and the efforts he had made for the promotion of the Olympic ideals might have made him consider this exclusion almost a personal matter, which 'blinded' him from taking into account the broader political situation. Nevertheless, Hoberman (1986) has criticised Diem for this kind of attitude, as "a cunning apologist, if only because he refused to make an apology whatsoever" (p. 50).

6.3.2 Coubertin and Diem

Coubertin did not attend the Berlin Games, but instead his recorded message was played over the loudspeakers during the opening ceremony. He had also addressed a message to the bearers of the torch relay,

We are living in solemn hours. Everywhere around us are occurring the most extraordinary and unexpected things. Like a thick morning mist there are taking shape before us the figures of a new Europe and that of a new Asia. It seems that,

now more than ever, the crisis that we must face and debate is, above all, a crisis in education. I offer you my message-doubtless that last that I will have the chance to formulate. I hope your course is a happy one. It begins after all in a most illustrious place, under the aegis of an eternal Hellenism that has not ceased to light the way of the centuries and whose ancient solutions remain today as applicable as they ever were. (Cited in Mandell 1971: 130)

It seemed that Coubertin had supported the Berlin Games without any concerns for their use as propaganda by the Nazis. Diem has reported that Coubertin was “well informed about sports and politics in Germany” and that he “expected the Olympic Games in Berlin to be a major cultural event” (cited in Hoberman 1986: 43). However, Krüger (1972) has remarked that Diem should not be considered a reliable source, as his motives might have intended to advance the Olympic cause or his personal position as a link between Coubertin and the Berlin organising committee (cited in Hoberman 1986: 43). All the same, Coubertin himself made the following remarks in the course of an interview during the Games,

What? ‘Disfigured’ Games? The Olympic Idea sacrificed to propaganda? That is entirely false! The imposing success of the Berlin Games has served the Olympic ideal magnificently. The French, who alone or almost alone have been playing the Cassandras, commit the greatest injustice by not understanding or by not wanting to understand...It is good that each nation of the world be granted the honour of putting on the Game sand of celebrating them in its own manner, in accordance with its own creative powers and by its own means. In France they are disturbed by the fact that the Games of 1936 were illuminated by a Hitlerian force and discipline. How could it have been otherwise? (Cited in Hoberman 1986: 42-3)

It is also worth noting that the interviewer Gaston Meyer remarked that Coubertin seven days after this interview, in a letter addressed to the French sporting paper *L’Auto*, offered “his congratulations to Mr. Hitler, who he salutes as one of the great constructive spirits of the age, for having preserved the Olympic ideals from distortion and for having served it magnificently” (cited in Hoberman 1986: 43)¹. Coubertin also developed correspondence with the Nazis, in support of their campaign against the international boycott. In the light of these, the German sport historian Hans Joachim Teichler (1982) argued that even if Coubertin was not a Nazi, “he did not criticise – he cooperated”. In his defence, his biographer Marie-Thérèse Eyquem has written that Coubertin “would never disavow the Olympic symphony, in spite of the false notes of Berlin. No human work is perfect, not even those, which

¹ However, Gaston Meyer does not make known whether the article was only addressed to *L’Auto* or also published in the journal (Hoberman 1986).

hold themselves to be divine. The Church has had its heresies, its schisms, its inquisition" (cited in Hoberman 1986: 42).

Not long before the Second World War began, Coubertin asked Diem to establish an International Olympic Institute in Berlin for the dissemination of the Olympic ideals and the preservation of the Olympic-related archival material.

I wasn't able to complete what I wanted to accomplish. What would be dearest by far to me would be the creation of a very modest small institute in Germany, in memory of the Games of the XIth Olympiad, to which I would leave all my papers, documents, unfinished projects concerning the whole of modern Olympism in order to dispel inaccuracies. I think an Olympic Study Centre, not necessarily in Berlin, would more than anything else support progress of this movement and preserve it from ideological deviation of which I am so fearful. (Coubertin 1938; quoted by Paton and Barney 2002: 94).

The collaboration between the two men became even closer when Coubertin asked Diem to undertake the editing of the *Revue Olympique*, the International Olympic Committee's magazine of which Coubertin had been the managing director and editor from 1901 to 1914.

He [Coubertin] was very concerned about the spiritual transmission of his work, and always attached importance to the independent cultivation of the educational ideas which are implicit in the Olympic Games, and which had led him to re-establish them. So in 1934, under the impact of the German preparations for the XIth Olympiad, he got into touch with me for the first time and urged me to edit an Olympic Review after the Games were over, as he himself had done for many years. Indeed he had prepared the ideological ground for the revival of the Games by issuing in 1890-91 his own periodical 'La Revue Athletique' in which he already demonstrated the full width of his horizon. After the foundation of the Games he had resumed publication of the periodical under the title 'Revue Olympique'; it appeared sometimes as a monthly, sometimes as a quarterly up to the beginning of the World War. (Diem 1938b: lines 2 – 6)

Between 1938 and 1944 the Berlin Institute published all 24 issues of *La Revue Olympique* (later renamed as *Olympische Rundschau*), which remained the official organ of the IOC. Diem explains below some details concerning Coubertin's proposal for a 'Centre of Olympic Studies' to the German Reich.

Coubertin expanded his proposal during 1934 with the idea of erecting a second Olympic Museum in Berlin as a counterpart to that in Lausanne. Then in 1937, through the intermediary of his friend the German General Consul in Geneva Dr. Krauel, he made a proposal to the Reich Sport Leader for the foundation of an International Olympic Institute, to which he would bequeath his as yet unpublished writings, in so far as they concerned the educational and psychological problems of

Olympism. The Institute was to be a 'Centre of Olympic Studies', and to be devoted to work on all associated historical and educational questions. Coubertin expressly gave as his reason that Germany was the country, which had so well understood his ideas and put them into practice. Reich Sport Leader von Tschammer und Osten, who immediately took up this plan, obtained the consent of the Fuhrer and Reich Counsellor and all the authorities concerned, and thus ensured that the Institute was inaugurated at the appointed time. The International Olympic Committee received the news of its foundation at a meeting that took place in March 1938 on the Nile, and expressed its joyful approbation; it resolved to give up its official announcements through the 'Olympic Review', which was to be published by the new Olympic Institute in quarterly form. (Diem 1938b: lines 16 – 33)

Later in the same year (1938), he expressed in an article his satisfaction that the International Olympic Institute in Berlin had now been officially inaugurated.

We can thus note with satisfaction that as a result of the XIth Olympiad Germany has spontaneously become the intellectual focus of the Olympic effort. The administrative direction of the Olympic Games remains in Lausanne, the seat of the International Olympic Committee. The work in Berlin will begin with the establishment of the Olympic Archive, a documentary centre on world sports organisation. Here it will be possible in future to find data on the sports associations of all nations participating in the Olympic Games, their leaders and their history, and also on laws relating to physical education, state institutions in this field, various methodical principles etc. A second task is research into Olympic history both in antiquity and in modern time, and evaluation of the experience to be gained thereafter. It is clearly unnecessary for every Olympic organiser to start his experience from scratch; such experience can be systematically stored in the Institute and made available to future organisers. This work also covers the principles of construction of Olympic sports facilities, which will turn affect the construction of sports facilities in general. A third question is the educational aspect of the Games. They should even act as a recurrent stimulus to a healthy education of the young, and thus keep them fat from professional sport, sensation and theatricality. (Diem 1938b: lines 34 - 51)

In 1938, Diem successfully inaugurated the Olympic Institute in Berlin, but he had not transferred yet from Lausanne to Berlin Coubertin's archival records and papers (Paton and Barney 2002). Unfortunately, only a few years later, the Second World War began, and the future of the Olympic Movement was once again in crisis. Belgium was occupied by German troops, which made it difficult for the president Comte Henri Baillet-Latour to continue his works for the IOC. During the winter 1940-41, Diem, von Halt, and Reichssportführer Hans von Tschammer und Osten visited Baillet-Latour and informed him about Hitler's grandiose plans to take over the international sport movement (Guttman 1992). Ever since 1937, with the success of the Berlin Olympic Games, Hitler had had several meetings with his favourite architect Albert Speer about the establishment of a huge stadium in Nuremberg, supposed to host 450,000 spectators, which, however, was never built. In a conversation that Speer had with Hitler informing him that the athletic field did

not have the prescribed Olympic proportions, Hitler had remarked, “no matter. In 1940 the Olympic Games will take place in Tokyo. But thereafter, they will take place in Germany for all time to come, in this stadium. And then, we will determine the measurements of the athletic field” (Mandell 1971: 293).

In this war amid disorder and fears for the future of the Olympic Movement, Baillet-Latour, ‘isolated’ (Paton and Barney 2002: 97) and ‘politically helpless’ (Guttman 2002: 75), died of a stroke on January 6, 1942. However, not long after his death, Diem appeared in Lausanne to transfer Coubertin’s Olympic papers and records to Berlin. With regard to Diem’s visit to Lausanne in early 1942, Madame Zanchi, IOC secretary since 1927, remarked, “At the height of the war, I was left alone in Lausanne. When Professor Diem attempted to remove the Olympic headquarters to Germany, I hid the most important documents in the cellar, and convinced the community that Diem was a spy. I alerted Mr. Edström of Sweden” (cited in Lucas 1980: 147; also referenced in Mandell 1971: 241, Guttman 1992: 75; Paton and Barney 2002: 97). As a result, Edström travelled to Switzerland later in 1942 and locked in a safe place all the IOC records. However, Paton and Barney (2002) argue that, despite Madame Zanchi’s accusations, Diem was doing what Coubertin had instructed him to do in relation to his archival material. Moreover, Coubertin too, during the First World War crisis, had acted in a similar way by moving in 1915 the headquarters from Paris to Lausanne. Nevertheless, many questions are raised regarding Diem’s motives for such an action, especially given the fact that Berlin was not the safest place at that time for the Olympic records to be kept (as opposed to neutral Switzerland which Coubertin had chosen in the First World War crisis).

Interestingly, Mandell (1971) has argued that Diem’s “pseudo-classical trappings such as the torch run and the shows of the ancient Greek art” aimed at establishing himself as “the natural successor of the aging Coubertin [and] the leader of the International Olympic Movement” (p. 283). In addition, in relation to Diem’s actions after the surrender of Germany in 1945, Widlund (1998) has argued that Diem in his memoirs *‘Ein Leben für den Sport’* (A Life for Sports) “appears as a bitter, reluctant, hostile and uncooperative person” (p. 175). And he continues,

Diem sees himself as the foremost guardian of the Olympic Idea and takes on the role of Olympian Zeus to condemn what he does not approve of. Besides, he is wrong when he says that the Olympic Flag is handed over by the Secretary-General of the previous Games. This is done by the Mayor of the previous host city. Diem must really have longed to play that part at the 1948 Games in London. Those who study the complex personality of Carl Diem should take notice of this particular part of his memoirs. (p. 175)

Therefore, Diem's interest in keeping the Olympic archives under his surveillance might be seen as part of his personal ambition to succeed Coubertin in the Olympic Movement. In similar vein, his dedication to the excavations of the Hellenistic sporting sites in Olympia, especially in the post-Nazi phase, may be seen as part of his efforts to establish himself in the eyes of the world as Coubertin's successor. Such claims must however remain speculative.

6.4 The Post-Nazi Phase: Olympic Internationalism?

As experienced before with the Great War, the outbreak of the Second World War brought a major crisis in the Olympic Movement, and threatened the future of its existence. Diem had expressed his concerns about the cancellation of the Olympic Games in Tokyo (1940), and also those which were later awarded to Helsinki following the Japanese invasion in China (Toohey and Veal 2000),

The war has cut across Olympic affairs. Where weapons clash, the Olympic celebration retires. Before the grim struggle for existence, joy in Olympic festivities recedes into the shadows. So the glad hope for a festival in Tokyo paled before the thunder of war in Asia, and the Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen fell out before the stir of arms in Europe. What will become of the Helsinki festival we shall learn in the near future. At the moment of writing a decision has not yet been taken. It is the task of these pages to rake the Olympic fire so that when peace returns it may blaze up brightly again. (Diem 1940: lines 2 – 15)

As discussed earlier in the thesis, the IOC, in the aftermath of the Second World War, started to rebuild the structures of the Olympic Movement and revive the Olympic Games. However, the war had heightened the nationalist feelings of the members of the IOC, even if they were representatives of the IOC in their countries and not ambassadors of their countries in the IOC. For members whose countries had been damaged by the German or Italian occupiers, the membership in the committee of former Nazis or Fascists was more than unpleasant. The presence of

Von Halt, for instance, who had been a member of the Nazi party, or of Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, who had worked closely with Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels and of the three Italians – Count Alberto Bonacossa, Count Paolo Thaon di Revel, and General Giorgio Vaccaro – who had all been members of the Italian Fascist party, raised protests within the circles of the IOC (Guttmann 1992). At the first post-war session in Lausanne, it was also decided that Germany and as the war aggressors Japan should not be invited.

Invitations will be sent out by the Organizing Committee to participate in the 1948 'Games' early in the New Year. Germany and Japan will not be included. The design for the invitations, which portray an athlete running with a flaming Olympic Torch, has been drawn by Mr. J. E. Slater of Ribworth, Leicester. (Diem 1947: lines 2 – 8)

Diem was very disappointed by this decision, which he tried unsuccessfully to reverse, right up to the last moment before the staging of the Games in London (1948).

Roesler has written with such enthusiasm and conviction that his words are sure to find a good echo, though in fact Edstrøm needs no urging. It was Edstrøm who on receiving the official notification that we intended to found a German Olympic Committee, first and forthwith replied that he welcomed this intention and that "the formal condition for an invitation" was thereby fulfilled. Since he keeps me regularly informed about the Olympic deliberations and also sends me the minutes, I know that the invitation list of the International Olympic Committee is not yet closed and that no decision has yet been taken to exclude Germany (and Japan). (Diem 1948: lines 37 – 45)

Diem seems to have been convinced that Germany would eventually be invited to the London Games. What made him believe this was possibly that good relationships existed between the president of the IOC, Sigfrid Edstrøm and individuals from the German Olympic circles (an official German Olympic Committee was yet to be founded)¹ (Guttmann 1992; Roche 2000). As seen in the above quote, the two men, Diem and Edstrøm, communicated freely and with an open manner with one another, and regularly discussed developments in the decision-making process of the IOC concerning the participation of Germany in the London Games. Edstrøm also showed his support to the German Olympic Committee some years later on the issue

¹ Before the Second World War, Germany had one German national Olympic Committee, but due to the post-war division between Eastern and Western Germany the recognition of a single joint German national Olympic committee was still pending (Toohey and Veal 2000).

of whether Mecklenburg and von Halt, two persons that had been implicated in Nazism, had the right to represent the newly established Federal Republic of Germany in the IOC session in Vienna (May 1951).

Notwithstanding the protests from a number of members, including Prince Axel of Denmark, General Pahud de Mortanges of Holland, Baron de Trannoy of Belgium, Olaf Ditlev-Simonsen of Norway, and Jerzy Loth of Poland, Edström refused to put the whole issue to a vote. He announced that the Germans were already present in Vienna for the session, stating in response to their reactions, “these are old friends whom we receive today” (Gutmann 1992: 77). The German National Committee, consisting (among others) of former collaborators of Nazis, such as its president von Halt, subsequently gained full recognition by the IOC. Such actions raised criticisms about the IOC’s decisions and its tendency to be “completely insulated from political events within Germany and the strong overtones produced at the Berlin Games” (Killanin and Rodda 1976; cited in Roche 2000: 119)¹. However, the decision for the exclusion of Germany from the Olympic Games in London (1948) was not rescinded due to the general outcry in the IOC circles.

Interestingly, Diem had emphasised, “We will not forget, however, that while international sporting relationships grow irresistibly out of the competitive impulse in sport, at the same time they are subject to the general laws of human commerce, namely in this case the need for friendly contacts. Now friendship is always a matter of reciprocity”. (Diem 1949: lines 54 – 57). Therefore, he ensured the re-admittance of Germany in the international sport arena through the development of international contacts, but at the expense of the ‘German pride’,

We must not have any greater urge to resume sporting contacts with other nations than they have to resume contacts with us. And we note with deep joy that there has already been a rebirth of this sporting friendship in several sporting fields and with several countries. I send greetings from here to our Swedish and Swiss sports friends, with whom we are in close contact. I also greet many other sports leaders abroad who have shown the same will to friendship, and think at this moment of our

¹ Even after the intense controversy over the Nazi Olympics, the IOC awarded the 1940 Games to Tokyo, despite the international concerns for Japan’s aggressive foreign policy at that period (Guttmann 1992).

old sports friend Dan Terns, the intellectual leader, secretary and treasurer of American athletics, who from the beginning has urged the reincorporating of Japan and Germany with the fine sentence "It is my feeling that the athletes of Germany and Japan had no more to do with the war than did our athletes". We must tackle our preparations for Helsinki today on the assumption that by 1952 conflicts born of the World War will have been resolved. Should this assumption prove wrong in one field or another, our preparations will nonetheless not have been in vain, since as we know from experience they are an inner source of strength for the development in Germany itself. (Diem 1949: 85 – 113, emphasis added)

Germany was finally re-admitted to the Olympic Movement at the 1952 Helsinki Games, but represented only by her Western part due to the problems regarding the recognition of the post-war sub-divided Eastern and western Olympic committees (Toohey and Veal 2000).

6.4.1 True Internationalism or a Eurocentric Worldview?

Supernationalism was both 'cause and effect' of the two 'world wars' (Roche 2000: 24). These two periods of ruin and destruction had severe effects in Europe (and inevitably on the whole world) on political, cultural and economic levels. In terms of their influence on the Olympic Movement, they transformed the event to a mass public festival, which served propaganda purposes and nationalist interests. Nonetheless, the early-twentieth century authoritarian states were also responsible for the development of 'supernationalist' themes, which extended beyond the national boundaries of the nation-states, thus developing the implications of the (neo-) imperialist character of 'international society'. The transformation of the Olympics to mass public festivals during this period determined the development of public culture in the late twentieth century. In the post-Second World War and the late twentieth-century periods there is an increase in the trends toward internationalisation and trans-nationalisation, whereas supernationalism and the notion of international world as a 'world of nations' have not disappeared. Such trends are identified with recent historical developments in economic, cultural and political spheres and were more visible after the two 'world wars' (Roche 2000).

Evidence of Internationalism

Diem, even in writings during the Nazi-phase, made references to the value of internationalism in the Olympic Movement. Both men, Diem and Coubertin, shared the view that national and international interests can co-exist in the Olympic Games. Diem often emphasised in his writings that sport is a universal culture.

The Olympic Congress, like the Olympic Games, is an expression of the world-fellowship of sporting ideas and of their world-binding force. Only a chivalrous sport, a sport aware both of its strength and its limitations, can be a foundation of modern culture. This culture is a web in which the individual national elements are the warp, and the things they have in common are the woof. International influences penetrate the national cultures and in turn draw new strength from their enduring traditions. The Olympic Games are an example of this. Here too particular national idioms mingle and are permeated in their turn by the universal idea. (Diem 1930: lines 29 - 44)

Echoing arguments from the thesis of globalisation, Diem explains the mechanisms of combining the universal with the particular, the national with the international, in the global sport arena. Having acknowledged that the Olympic Games should be inclusive of all world nations, he had raised his objections against the lengthy Olympic programme which was constraining for the participants of the non-European nations,

But the Olympic Games are world games, and the intention is that all the nations shall participate. Non-European sportsmen would have had to devote nearly half a year to this programme. For example the Chileans arrived in Holland in the middle of May and left in the middle of August. (Diem 1929: lines 67 – 80)

Diem emphasised that all the nations of the world should have the right to host the Olympic Games, without any restrictions affecting the smaller nations.

The rhythm of the Olympic Games demands that they be organized alternately by large and small countries, and this is the clear intention of the IOC. The large nations may demonstrate their ability in the Games but they must not in any sense control them, since the smaller nations have the right to imprint their character upon them. An Olympic Festival becomes no less Olympic if its scope is confined, and neither the number of spectators or participants can be regarded as an ultimate indication of success. The determining factor is rather the festive atmosphere. (Diem 1938c: lines 110 – 130, emphasis added)

Diem argued in this text that small nations are also capable of hosting the Olympic Games, having in mind the IOC's discussions that Helsinki of Finland should replace Tokyo as a host city of the next Olympic Games (1940). When the IOC did not receive any confirmations from the Japanese Olympic Committee that their aggressive foreign policy would not influence the conduct of the Games, they withdrew the offer from the city of Tokyo and offered it to the city of Helsinki (Guttmann 1992; Toohey and Veal 2000). The Finns, whose relationship with the IOC had always been good, accepted immediately and provided a good alternative solution that was so much needed at that time. Therefore, the choice of Helsinki was a solution proposed by the IOC at a difficult time, rather than evidence of its 'open' and inclusive policy to incorporate small nations in the staging of the Games.

Especially during the period 1956-1961, Diem was deeply concerned with the expansion of the Olympic Movement beyond Europe, and the interaction between the local, national elements, and the international and global values of the Olympic Movement.

"Why are they taking the Olympic Games all the way to Melbourne?" is a question often asked in irritation. The simple answer is that it's no further from Berlin, Helsinki, London or Rome to Melbourne than from Melbourne to Rome, London, Helsinki or Berlin. *It is true that the Olympic Games originated once in Europe and were also revived there, but today they are a world festival, to which all civilised nations are invited. Their main content is sporting, and in a world festival good sportsmanship demands geographical fair play. The changes must therefore be rung on all climates and times of year. The classical Games, which began by being purely Greek and then became a festival for the whole Mediterranean, did not have to face this problem. But present-day sport has conquered the world, and the Games must therefore be held in the conditions, seasons and places of the various continents, and moreover must take the imprint of their regional cultures.* This task has not been approached pedantically or mechanically, but practically and with the aim of promoting the spread of the Olympic idea. The Games have twice been allotted to the New World, i.e. the United States (St. Louis in 1904 and Los Angeles in 1932). Once already it was intended to take them to the Far East (Tokyo 1940), but this was prevented first by the war between Japan and China, and then by World War II. Now it is Australia's turn. No doubt after Rome in 1960 the Games may well be given to East Asia again, and after that to Africa or South America. The initial objection that Olympic Games held too far outside the main World traffic routes would be poorly visited has been disproved by events. The Melbourne Games, with over 70 nations participating, are outdoing all their predecessors, for the good reason that the Olympic Idea has now spanned the globe and taken root everywhere. (Diem 1956: lines 2 – 53, emphasis added)

Diem emphasised that the Olympic Games should be hosted in non-European cities, thus providing the opportunity to people from other parts of the world to participate

in the Games. Diem argued that the selection of Melbourne as a host for the 1956 Olympic Games had opened channels of communication with people outside the European cultural sphere, reflecting the international nature of the Olympic Movement.

The Melbourne Games were a crucial proof of this. They challenged the world — the world came. *Now, however, the world in turn is challenging the Games. I mean that they can and must reflect the intellectual wealth and onward march of the world's cultures. Man's common characteristics, his common needs and perceptions and festal traditions must fuse in them like alloys to create a conducting metal.* (Diem 1957d: 60 – 66, emphasis added)

Diem emphasised the need for the local cultures of the different world nations to be reflected in the programme of the Olympic Games.

In Asia national customs have been preserved to the present day in intimate connection with religion. Like Persian athletics, they have frequently survived a change of religions, and appear in Muslim traditions as they formerly did in the rituals of the previous cult; for all physical education is religious in origin and its festivals, whether Olympic or Capitoline, whether the Peruvian races or those of the Hittites and Babylonians, whether Indonesian boxing or Gallic horse-racing, whether Chinese football or the equestrian games of the steppe peoples, are always dedicated to the gods. When these new peoples have had time to consider more deeply the *advantages and disadvantages of modern sport, they will demand that their conception of sport too shall be acknowledged in the Olympic Games. If the Games are to be a universal festival, they must reflect the whole field of bodily culture and of culture through the body.* (Diem 1957d: lines 82 – 100, emphasis added)

As seen above, Diem's attachment to the multicultural world of sport is in sharp contrast to his nationalist and racist references of the earlier years. He argued that the modern Olympic Movement would benefit from understanding world cultures and from including elements of the local traditions in the Olympic Games.

This trend is the more likely, in that Asian physical education emphasises a side whose present neglect in modern sport has led to glaring disadvantages. *All the defects and perversions attributed to modern sport, its one-sidedness, its exaggeration, its art-for-art's sake attitude and refusal to fit into the framework of life's obligations, and lastly its materialism, all these are rooted in the sensationalism of the prevailing competitive system. We may hope that the Asian systems of physical culture will restore the lost equilibrium.* (Diem 1957d: lines 101 – 114, emphasis added)

Diem has supported in many cases the competitive form of modern sport, "For one and the other — the great, universal, enduring pageant of life and the modest recurring festival — set man tasks which he must solve as he goes along. In these tasks what matters is not just to take part honourably, but to win!" (Diem 1957d: lines 32 – 37). However, as seen before, Diem was strongly influenced by the Volkish hostility to industrialisation, materialism and competitiveness, which was obvious in some of his writings (Hoberman 1986). Therefore, the inclusion of local cultures in the highly competitive Olympic Games would balance the negative effects of modernity.

"High culture" says Nietzsche "will seem like a bold dance, wherefore great strength and suppleness are needed". The Indian dances are the flower of all human gymnastics. What a distressing sight, not in itself but by comparison with the Indian art, is our programme of competitive freestanding exercises, which consists of a large number of acrobatic feats ranging from splits to flick-flack and flying somersault, all strung together without rhyme or reason. The whole body of the Indian dance moves in perfect obedience to the secret behests of the soul. Here is the open heaven of our cause. Should these things not form part of the Olympic Games? I saw dances in India, in dance-loving Madras, beginners and women-teachers in the heart of the country at the Amravati Sport School, classes surrendered in self-forgetfulness to the inner rhythm, their black flower-twined ponytails flying; I saw how the teachers inwardly danced with them, never taking an eye from their chicks, whether their own obviously well-trained bodies were clad in brilliant saris — a dance in themselves — or were enveloped in the severe white robes of the Christian nuns. I ask again: should these things not form part of the Olympic programme? (Diem 1957d: lines 135 - 161)

All the same, Diem's perception of inclusion of local cultures in the Olympic Games, resembling that of Coubertin, is restricted to the peripheral role of cultural displays outside the main competitive programme of the Games.

How can we free mankind from the formalism of an existence with no depth, such as is expressed in our 'modern' dances, if we do not set aside an hour in our only common festival for self-communion and the expression of our highest humanity? It is certainly true that we cannot make any points competitions out of it, any more than a genuine comparison is possible between ice-dancers as the symphony of colour, music and movement plays on the gliding floor. But do the points really matter? Can we not be high-minded and forget any thought of competition for part of the festival, simply offering the game to one another as the Chinese or Indian weapon-dancers do? Doesn't such a spectacle have just as much right as the competitive events to belong to the Olympic festival? Don't the magnificently relaxed movements of competitive events such as the hurdle races and the crawl cry out imperiously for their counterpart in the floating, swift-changing dance? I am inclined to think that both the gymnastic systems and the music and dance of Asia will raise a demand to be incorporated in a genuinely world-wide Olympic Games programme, and that we will derive the same enrichment from them as Goethe did from the

songs of Hafts, and Nietzsche from his vision of Zarathustra. From such an Asian contribution we may recover the sense of measure, which is the secret enduring strength of the Olympic story. (Diem 1957d: lines 162 – 198)

In similar vein, he argued in relation to the cultural displays and exhibitions taking place during the Olympic Games,

Another enrichment is more to the point. The Olympic rules authorise the organiser to invite participating countries to give an exhibition of their native forms of physical education. This was done with complete success in Berlin in 1936. Each light-athletics day ended with a big physical education display, and the smaller teams, which could not be included in the arena, performed before a more restricted public. In 1948 there was a Swedish exhibition and in 1952 a Danish. Since then no further use has been made of this right. But the persistent and perhaps even increasing strength of the desire for deeper methodical study of these matters is shown by the congresses, which take place concurrently with the Games. As new nations flock to join us — many of them, such as the Asiatic nations, having an age-old physical culture — these displays would ensure the preservation of traditional values by the Olympic festival. (Diem 1960b: lines 212 – 233)

As discussed earlier, displays of 'Others', people from exotic foreign cultures, had been popular in the international expos and mega-events such as the Olympics in nineteenth and early twentieth century (Roche 2000). However, in the late twentieth century the perception that indigenous sport cultures should only be part of the Olympic Games as peripheral and historically preserved forms of physical culture has not disappeared. Diem argued that Japan for instance "has a deeply rooted culture preserved through centuries. If its gymnastics and dances were presented in an artistic form they would lend a unique content to such a pageant" (Diem 1960b: lines 340 – 345).

The Olympic programme must be confined to its essentials and again incorporate all our spiritual and cultural values, weaving them with an artist's hand into a tapestry of man's higher nature, yet remaining within the bounds of our capacity for enjoyment. The tranquillity, the philosophy and the greater nearness to nature of the East must also help to guide the Olympic advance. They cannot fail to make their contribution if the Olympic idea does not merely touch the surface of things and rank as a recurrent tourist adventure, but penetrates more deeply into the thought and the sense of reverence of reflecting men. *Let us therefore hope that the Melbourne Olympic Games and the awaited contribution of Asia to Olympic culture may bear within them the promise of that all-round universal humanism which the Olympic Games as a world festival are capable of attaining.* (Diem 1957d: lines 205 – 224, emphasis added)

For the critics of the Olympic Movement, the so-called 'universal humanism' serves as a smokescreen for western cultural hegemony, which promotes a single sport culture based on the western model of modern sport.

Evidence of Eurocentrism

Diem once emphasised in relation to the development of a universal sport culture across the globe,

A general physical culture is now recognised throughout the world as indispensable...the previous systems, Swedish, German, Indian etc. have blended with one another. Today there is something like a combined selection or 'world system'...the discoveries of sporting technique have become common property from Alaska to the Fiji islands, from Los Angeles to Rome and Tokyo. (Diem 1957c: lines 172 – 181)

The spread and practice of modern sport in different parts of the world was presented as evidence that the Olympic Movement had become universal.

The development of sporting technique is so universal nowadays that even the new sporting nations can produce top performances, as they have already shown. The great positive feature of the festival was the demonstration of the faith of these new nations in it. The five rings have really become intertwined. Talented sportsmen of every race had come together from every continent, and nothing marred the fellowship, which reigned among them, the sympathy springing from common ideals. (Diem 1960b: lines 154 – 165)

Nevertheless, Diem's perception of 'world culture', similar to that of Coubertin, derives from a Eurocentric conception of modernity.

The modern Olympic Games pit the nations-states against one another. In this respect they do not differ so very much from the ancient Games, in which the rivals were the city-states - originally those of Greek extraction, but later those lying within the Greek cultural orbit; *thus the ancient Games embraced the Mediterranean peoples in touch with the then world-culture of Greece just as fully as the modern Games embrace the peoples now in touch with the world-culture -of-the West. The ancient Games were a manifestation of classical culture, just as the modern Games are a manifestation of the western, European culture which now dominates the world, and of which sport has recently become one of the most notable carriers. In both instances the Games have been not merely expressions of the culture in*

question but its creative agents. They are a historic force; their contribution to human progress has a unique weight. (Diem 1933a: lines 2 – 14, emphasis added)

Diem's Eurocentric point of view is also evident below in his references to the origins of the modern Olympic Games,

The Olympic Games bred a spiritual force which made them the focal point of ancient culture and the bond which united firstly the Greek peoples and later the whole Mediterranean. *Thus they became part of the foundations of that western culture out of which modern sport has blossomed.* These foundations are being continually studied and widened today in the world's universities, and especially in those faculties and colleges of education, which point the way of education through the body. (Diem 1961a: lines 32 – 48, emphasis added)

As discussed in the previous chapter, Hellenism, harking back to the origins of Europe, represented a binding power for Europe's unity and authority (Bowen 1989), a view that is also linked to a Eurocentric conception of modernity (Dussel 2000). Therefore, Diem, by drawing parallels between Hellenic hegemony during classical antiquity and western, European hegemony of modern times, openly acknowledges the dominance of western culture in the Olympic Movement. He has also emphasised,

Now that these new nations are entering the Games we must not be content merely to teach them modern forms of sport, but we must consider which of their traditional recreations are appropriate to a complete Olympic programme. This is discussed in the official report for 1956. The task still lies ahead and offers extremely interesting comparisons. But one decision has been taken. By resolution of the International Olympic Committee at Rome, 1960, judo is to be included in the list of Olympic sports. (Diem 1960b: lines 192 – 202, emphasis added)

The post-Second World period witnessed the end of the colonial system and the emergence of newly independent states from the former colonial areas of Asia and Africa. As part of the East-West conflict of interests and quest for power, the West wanted to gain control over the newly independent Asian and African states, developing a form of neo-imperialism. In the Olympic Movement, the opposition of the African states to South Africa's participation portrayed both actually and symbolically the Third World rift and anti-colonial resistance (Espy 1979). Therefore, it was important for the Olympic Movement to gain control over the newly independent states before they challenged the authority of the IOC through the organisation of their own movements.

In this context, Diem, showing evidence of paternalism, emphasised that it should be ensured that the new nations would be 'taught' the principles of modern sport. In addition, referring to indigenous local sport cultures as 'traditional recreations', he advised that the IOC should decide which of these traditions should finally be incorporated in the Olympic programme (albeit in the margins rather than in the full competitive programme) (Diem 1957d). He also emphasised in relation to the participation of the newly independent nations in the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, "this was their first experience of the Olympic community, and possibly too of western ways of life. This will have given their youth many new ideas for the future..." (Diem 1957c: lines 75 – 78). Besides, these kinds of paternalist references within the Olympic Movement caused regional opposition to the established Olympic Games and resulted in the organisation of the Regional Games¹ included the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), which were the most threatening of all for the Olympic Movement. Interestingly, Diem's paternalistic references in the era of neo-colonialism resemble, to a certain degree, Coubertin's paternalistic references in the era of late colonialism. In both cases, the emerging opposition played the role of a 'trigger' for the adoption of a more democratic IOC policy.

6.4.2 The International Olympic Academy

Diem had long proposed the establishment of pedagogical centre of Olympism, where young people from around the world would be taught the Olympic values. On a national level, he had been involved with the establishment of the *Haus des Deutschen Sports* in Germany, a big centre for research in physical education and recreation equipped with swimming pools, gymnasiums and classrooms. Moreover, in response to Coubertin's longing for the foundation of a Centre for Olympic Studies, he proposed and successfully established, with the cooperation of the Third Reich of Germany, the International Olympic Institute in Berlin. However, one of his most ambitious plans involved the continuation of the archaeological excavations in the ancient sport sites of Olympia. As discussed in the previous chapter, Philhellenism

¹ The best known Regional Games of this period are: the Pan-American Games, the Mediterranean Games, the Asian Games, the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), the Pan-Arab Games and the Pan-African Games (Espy 1979).

had been a strong intellectual trend in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Germany too worshipped the ancient Greek models of art, literature, philosophy and science, while many German intellectuals and scholars (such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Ernst Curtius) were inspired by the ancient Greek classicism.

The first excavations in Olympia took place in 1829, but in 1875 they became more systematic under the supervision of Ernst Curtius, a German archaeologist and Philhellene. After six years of continuous works, many temples, coins and inscriptions were unearthed. One of Diem's dreams was to recommence these excavations, abandoned by the Germans in 1881 (Mandell 1971). The Nazis, and Hitler in particular, who had a vision of 'the Thousand Year Reich' inspired by the thousand years that Olympia hosted sacred games, supported Diem's plans (Roche 2000). Diem encouraged and convinced the National Socialists that they should continue the excavations in ancient Olympia, which the Bismarckian Reich had abandoned. Hitler had issued a proclamation in relation to their decision to recommence the excavations,

The philosophical foundations for presenting the revived Olympic Games to the world are of hallowed antiquity. These spiritual forces come out of a sacred city, which for more than a thousand years was the site of festivals expressing the religious feelings and the basic convictions of the Greek Volk. As an enduring monument to the celebration of the XIth Olympiad in Berlin, I have decided to recommence and to see to a conclusion the excavations at Olympia. That these projects will succeed is my and our sincerest wish. (Cited in Mandell 1971: 284)

The new excavations started in 1935 and took place until late 1941 that were interrupted by the war. They were recommenced in 1952 - again at Diem's initiative - and were finally completed in 1961 (Mandell 1971). Diem, ever since the excavations were recommenced, considered the unearthed sport site of Olympia as the most appropriate place to host the international pedagogical centre of Olympism, the *International Olympic Academy* (IOA), also inaugurated in 1961. In an article published in 1942 (but written in 1939) in the journal *Olympische Flamme*, he stated,

Soon we shall be able to race and throw the javelin again in the ancient Stadium of Olympia, and — as was agreed during our stay in Olympia and Athens — young Germans and Greeks will celebrate the reawakening of the venerable monument by games in the sacred precinct. Thereafter the stadium will be used only on special

occasions and with fitting restraint. But every year the 'Olympic Academy' will meet there, a hundred young students from the whole world, each one chosen and sent by his nation for this high purpose, and will work together for two months under the leadership of teachers who will also be drawn from expert circles in all nations. (Diem 1942g: lines 9 - 25)

Carl Diem, on behalf of the International Olympic Institute in Berlin, had suggested to the Hellenic Olympic Committee (HOC) in 1938 that an Olympic Academy should be founded in Greece. From this point, John Ketseas, Secretary General of the HOC, and Carl Diem became close collaborators for the establishment of the academy. The two men knew each other well after their previous collaboration for the realisation of the torch relay in 1936 Berlin Olympics. Moreover, Ketseas and Coubertin, during the latter's 1927 visit to Olympia, had already started discussions about the organisation of a permanent annual sport festival at the site of Olympia (Lucas 1980). At the IOC meeting in Stockholm (19 June 1947), the HOC submitted for the first time the official plan for this *Centre d'Etudes Olympiques* that the President, Brundage, found "very interesting" (Diem 1961: p. 115). In January 1949, Ketseas, with Diem's assistance, submitted a memorandum to the IOC proposing that an Academy should be established in Greece under the IOC patronage. On 28th April 1949 the IOC unanimously accepted the Greek proposal but the lack of response from the National Olympic Committees in the difficult post-war period delayed even more the realisation of the project (only four accepted the invitation). Therefore, it took more than ten years for the HOC to issue formal invitations again and for the academy to be formally inaugurated (Diem 1961). Diem emphasised that the establishment of the academy also fulfilled Coubertin's dreams for the operation of a pedagogical centre of Olympism.

We can say simply that the 'Olympic Academy' which is to arise here will be on the one hand a continuation of the old academy — an 'Elis' of our times — and on the other hand the fulfilment of Coubertin's plans to put Olympism on a scholarly basis. (Diem 1961a: lines 3 – 8)

Diem, like Coubertin, considered that the Olympic values bound up with the values of Hellenism should be taught to the youth of the world.

They will be initiated into classical culture and the idea of the kalokagathia, and of course into the question of the possible and desirable function of the Olympic Idea in our time. The sports world is enthusiastic, more or less, and a few able scholars in various countries are willing to take part. I am still wrestling with the Greeks in an

attempt to persuade them not to put up an Olympic palace but to adopt my idea of letting participants in the Academy live in tents during the static study period, and spend the rest of the time on study tours, finishing in Athens, where modest accommodation is still available in the old Panathenaic Stadium. The whole project can only succeed if we find our way back to modesty. (Diem 1957g: lines 35 – 48)

Diem emphasised that the students of the academy would be moulded through the Spartan model of life.

They [the students] will live together in tents like the sportsmen of old, and enjoy the simple communal fare of Sparta...They will gain living experience of harmony resulting from lofty physical, mental and artistic discipline, which will be of value later in their social tasks. This annual course will bring together sports teachers, artists and young scientists, who will train together in the ancient stadium. Here is the dawn of a hope for the solution of the problem of 'Europe' with I, which we are now grappling. (Diem1942g: lines 26 - 35)

Several years later (1957), he insisted,

If anything modern is to come into existence there, then it will not be an art collection; and if I can prevent it, [it will] not [be] a building either, but an 'Olympic Academy', to which an international group of specially gifted students will be invited annually. (Diem 1957g: 27 – 35)

He argued that the ascetic mode of life should prevail in the academy, providing once again evidence of an anti-modernist outlook of life.

We have never considered having an Academy building, least of all in Olympia. The idea is that the students shall as far as possible lead a simple life in tents, as did the Olympic athletes of old. Any 'cosseting' would destroy the educational virtue of the Academy. The spirit of simplicity, which characterised the ancient Games, should continue to pervade the Academy today. Participation is a challenge to the resilience of youth; the Spartan mode of life will be an additional attraction to those we wish to attract, and a discouragement to those who are unsuitable. *The fact that we sleep in tents, wake by the stream and eat under the open sky is part of our Hellenic heritage!* Sportsmen accept the convenience of modern comforts, but are high-minded enough ('megalopsychia', the Greeks called this virtue) to give them up when the word "Olympic" is heard. If they did not do so the victors of old would jeer at us from their graves... (Diem 1961a: lines 116 – 130, emphasis added)

The Hellenic connections and resonance for choosing Olympia as the venue of the academy were apparent in Diem's writings.

They [the students] will revel in the contemplation and study of the noblest artistic treasures, which are housed in Olympia — those already found today, and those, which are confidently awaited. They will enjoy the treasures of the spirit, for which old Hellas was a focal point — the focal point whence western culture was created. (Diem55 1942g: lines 26 - 35, emphasis added)

As discussed in the previous chapter, historical Greece and the later cultivation of Greece as a reference point for all subsequent philosophy, art and literature in eighteenth and nineteenth century were two different accounts of Hellenism (Dussel 2000). The narrow confines of western tradition, especially after the discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum, recognised in the name of Greece a tradition to define its political existence and modernity (Ferris 2000). This does not mean that the 'historical' contemporary Greece did not wish to define its own identity in the legacy referred to as 'western tradition'. Thus, the establishment of the IOA in the Hellenistic site of Olympia, on the premises of the constructed ideology of Hellenism, was a promising project for both the Germans and the Greeks. On the one hand, the Greeks would pursue the recognition of a modern identity located in the western tradition that used Hellenism as a cultural and political source for defining its ideology. On the other hand, the Germans, through the establishment of the academy and the archaeological excavations at the ancient site of Olympia, would continue the legacy of the German intellectuals such as Winckelmann and Goethe, who through their Hellenist interpretations, developed Germany's aesthetic and intellectual production following the example of Greece, the 'highest example' of western culture (Ferris 2000). Mandell (1971) has argued,

As had been the case with German artists and philosophers since the Enlightenment, since the days of Winckelmann and Goethe, Diem would attempt to legitimise, glorify and sanctify young Germany by establishing her kinship with a fairyland of long ago. This great scholar in Nazi Germany sought to further his own and his nation's ambitions by increasing the world's knowledge of Greek antiquity. (p. 284-5)

Interestingly, the following quotation from Diem, found in an article published in *Olympisches Feuer* in 1957, provides evidence that his enthusiasm for the project of the archaeological excavations derived to a great extent from his patriotic plans to legitimise Germany, especially in the post-Nazi, post-Second World period.

It has long since become clear to all who have eyes to see, that our German nation can never again be a world power in the political field. *After our recent historical experiences this is certainly no cause for regret. But in exchange we have a great opportunity to play a leading part in the intellectual and cultural field among the peoples of this restless and peril-ridden earth. If we direct our energies to this end we shall at the same time be linking up with the finest achievements of our past. This, to be sure, is not a 'Programme', which can be dictated and obediently carried out; it calls for the holy zeal of a missionary. Our future depends upon whether we can still find the strength for such a mission. Olympia can be one touchstone. The money spent there will not be without fruit as regards Germany's reputation in the world, and above all it will influence the outlook of coming generations.* What would sport be today without the Olympic Games? What will it be tomorrow if these Games do not keep their quality? What will be the use of building gymnasia in Germany if we cannot preserve the Olympic spirit? "The things which are truly great lift us above ourselves!" (Goethe I Wilhelm Meister) (Diem 1957e: 7 – 47, emphasis added)

Diem, in the name of Olympia, found an opportunity for supporting Germany's regeneration following the intellectual and cultural patterns of Hellenism, which had also been used by the German Romantics during Enlightenment. Diem wished to reinstate Germany's reputation in the world, bridging its 'glorious' past with a promising future, just as the unearthed site of Olympia "constituted a bridge spanning the centuries, a living bond between Olympia of yesterday and today — a call to further deeds" (Diem 1961b: lines 72 - 76). All the same, this should not diminish the significance of Diem's efforts to put into practice his Olympic idealism through the establishment of a pedagogical centre for the dissemination of Olympic values. Nonetheless, it provides further evidence that Diem's Olympic internationalism, even at the end of his life, always went alongside his German nationalism.

In this chapter we have traced the strands of Olympism evident in the selected writings of Diem, with its tensions between nationalism and internationalism, its implication in political programmes of the far right, and its use for the reintegration of Germany into the post-Second World War world. Diem's personal impact on the expression of Olympism takes its most 'concrete' or material, and perhaps its most significant expression in the founding of the IOA.

Since its formal inauguration in 1961, the IOA has played a central role in the Olympic education and the promotion of Olympic ideals, organising regular sessions for students, administrators, and scholars from around the world. It is still considered today a major intellectual centre for the exchange of ideas and discussions about major issues in relation to Olympism, the Olympic Movement and international sport

in general. An analysis of different views and debates about Olympism, as reflected in a selection of lectures delivered in the academy during the period 1961-1997, is accommodated in the next chapter. Through this analysis, the author will attempt to establish an understanding of the rationale underpinning the Olympic ideology and the power relations among the actors involved against the historical, political and cultural background of this period, providing explanations for the process of the expression of values associated with the Olympic ideology.

The International Olympic Academy

(1961-1998)

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was shown that, during the interwar period, ideological 'absolutisms' emerged, which used the Olympic Games as a means of propaganda. This is particularly obvious in the case of the National Socialist party of Germany, which used the 1936 Berlin Olympics in order to propagate their ideals and increase the influence of their ideology internationally. Thus, the international interests of the Olympic Movement were challenged by the nationalist interests of the Nazis. During this period, Carl Diem, who was already known in the IOC circles through his various activities as sports administrator, became a leading figure both in German sport and the Olympic Movement. Interestingly, he combined the nationalism inspired by the *Turnen* movement and the German right-wing 'Volkish' ideology, with the internationalism underpinning the modern (English-oriented) Olympic sport. However, as discussed earlier, this 'unusual' amalgamation of ideas has raised much controversy regarding the 'real' motives and interests of Carl Diem in the Olympic Movement. In the previous chapter, evidence has been reviewed suggesting that his German nationalism was often in conflict with his Olympic internationalism even before the Nazi regime came into power. Moreover, some might argue that Diem's strongest interests ultimately lay in his personal ambitions: a) to establish himself as the successor of Coubertin in the Olympic Movement, and b) to link his own name to the 'glorious' names of German intellectuals and scholars, such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Ernst Curtius, by recommencing the excavations at the site of ancient Olympia, and embracing the ideals of Hellenism.

Notwithstanding those shadowy aspects, the Olympic Movement continued with many of the innovations that Diem had initiated, such as the torch-relay from ancient

Olympia to Berlin, the concept of the 'Olympic village', and the youth camp, as well as the establishing of the International Olympic Institute in Berlin in 1938, and the continuation of the publication of the *Olympic Review* during the difficult years of the Second World War. Moreover, as shown earlier, due to the concerted efforts of Carl Diem and John Ketseas, Secretary General of the Hellenic Olympic Committee (HOC), Coubertin's dream for the establishment of an international centre of Olympic studies came into realisation. Indeed, arguably one of Diem's most significant contributions to the Olympic Movement was the establishment of the International Olympic Academy (IOA) in Olympia.

When Coubertin's heart was transferred to Olympia in March 1938, Diem suggested to Ketseas the idea of founding an Olympic Academy, which would function as a permanent 'University of Olympism'. The IOC took over the "overall control of this institution in the service of the Olympic ideal" in June 1939 (IOC archives; cited in Muller 1998: p. 12). Unfortunately, the Second World War halted all the works of the Olympic Movement, and threatened their future continuation. However, Diem, as early as December 1945, started campaigning again for the establishment of an IOA. After Ketseas was elected as an IOC member in 1946, the idea of founding an Olympic academy received more attention in the IOC Sessions. The prospect of building an academy in Greece, which would function as an institution for the spread of the Olympic values, did not go unnoticed at the 40th IOC Session in Stockholm in 1947, and at the 1948 IOC Session in London. Finally, the IOC gave its unanimous vote for the Greek proposal at its session in Rome in 1949, only to be officially inaugurated twelve years later (1961) due to delays associated with the archaeological excavations in ancient Olympia (Müller 1998). The academy was officially inaugurated on June 14, 1961, scheduled to coincide with the official opening of the unearthed archaeological site in Olympia and the 59th IOC Session in Athens. The HOC sanctioned a provisional set of statutes on October 2, 1961, and on January 1962 they elected an Ephoria as the long-term executive body of the IOA under the presidency of John Ketseas (Müller 1998). The IOA is administered by members of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, but it is also placed under the patronage of the IOC. Ever since its formal inauguration in 1961, the IOA has played a central role in the promotion of Olympism and the dissemination of its ideals by organising regular sessions for students, athletes, sport administrators, sport

journalists, and scholars from around the world at its permanent facilities in Olympia of Greece. As it is claimed,

The aim of the International Olympic Academy is to create an international cultural centre in Olympia, to preserve and spread the Olympic Spirit, study and implement the educational and social principles of Olympism and consolidate the scientific basis of the Olympic Ideal, in conformity with the principles laid down by the ancient Greeks and the revivers of the contemporary Olympic Movement, through Baron de Coubertin's initiative. (IOA website 2004)

The establishment of the IOA contributed to a great extent to a remarkable growth in the educational programmes conducted within the Olympic Movement (Kidd 1996). The mission of the IOA is: to function as an International Academic Centre for Olympic Studies, Education and Research; to act as an International Forum for free expression and exchange of ideas among the Olympic Family, intellectuals, scientists, athletes, sport administrators, educators, artists and the youth of the world; to bring together people from all over the world, in a spirit of friendship and cooperation; to motivate people to use the experiences and knowledge gained in the IOA productively, in promoting the Olympic Ideals in their respective countries; to serve and promote the Ideals and principles of the Olympic Movement; to cooperate with and assist the National Olympic Academies and any other institutions devoted to Olympic Education; to further explore and enhance the contribution of Olympism to humanity (IOA official website 2005) .

An 'IOC Commission for the International Olympic Academy' was established in 1968 and its role was to follow the activities of the IOA, to contribute to their success, to receive the periodical reports of the sessions and to keep the IOC informed of the results obtained (Landry and Yerlès 1994). Since 1980, representatives of the athletes, members of the NOCs and of the IFs have been appointed to the commission. In 1993, the IOC broadened the sphere of this commission changing its name to 'Commission for the International Olympic Academy and Olympic Education', implying that more education-related projects would be taken over (Landry and Yerlès 1994). With the IOC reform of 2000, the Commission changed its name to 'Commission for Education and Culture', broadening even more its scope by including culture and expanding its activities beyond a single educational institute (IOC 2000). Olympic Solidarity also provides funds (gained from the IOC television rights profits)

to the NOCs in order to send athletes, coaches, officials, teachers, journalists, artists and graduate students from all over the world to the IOA sessions (Kidd 1996).

From 1962 until 1998 the total number of participants at the annual sessions for young participants was 5,222 (Szymiczek 1986; cited in Müller 1998: 14). In 1969 the IOA opened to meetings of international sport organisations, resulting in a significant increase in the number of meetings, seminars and congresses that were held in Olympia. From 1969 to 1998 more than 500 national and international meetings, seminars and congresses took place in Olympia with almost 50,000 participants. As an outcome of the annual sessions, former IOA participants took the initiative of establishing national Olympic academies in their countries, which resulted in the 1984 decision of the Executive Board of the IOC to establish an assistance programme for the founding of National Olympic Academies (NOA). Both Commissions (of education and of Olympic Solidarity) as well as the International Olympic Academy encourage the NOCs to establish their own National Olympic Academies (Kidd 1996). In 1992, the 1st Joint International Session for Directors of NOAs, members and staff of NOCs and IFs was held. In 1993, another innovation was the establishment of an annual Post-graduate Seminar on Olympic Studies for post-graduate students interested in extending their knowledge in the diverse fields of the Olympic Movement.

Thus, the Academy, being the host for so many sessions, seminars and congresses for over four decades, has established itself as a key centre for the exchange of ideas and discussions about major issues in relation to Olympism, the Olympic Movement and the international sport in general. Moreover, its long-term presence in the service of the Olympic Movement has also made the IOA an appropriate source of information for identifying and examining the major issues that have concerned the 'Olympic Family' since 1961, thus enabling a better understanding of the changing rationales underpinning the Olympic ideology. This chapter seeks to provide insights into shifts and changes in Olympic values, while highlighting the major issues and concerns about Olympism, as expressed and evidenced in a selection of lectures delivered in the IOA between 1961 and 1998. The selection of 56 lectures out of the 630 that were delivered in the IOA main Sessions of Young Participants during this period was first and foremost based on their relevance to the research aims and objectives as outlined in the research protocol, which was

presented in the 'Methodology' chapter of this thesis. However, the spread of the sample across time (lectures from all the four decades), and across space (lectures delivered by scholars and administrators originating from different countries) were also taken into account.

By analysing the views and ideas of a number of Olympic scholars and administrators coming from different geopolitical, social and cultural backgrounds, the author adopts a different approach from that adopted in the previous chapters which focused on the ideas of a single individual. The concern in this chapter is not to identify a single person's changing views of Olympism over time, but rather to identify the range of views on Olympism expressed over time in this central vehicle for the discussion and promulgation of Olympic values. Thus such an approach allows the author: a) to identify multiple views on Olympism and examine different interpretations of Olympic values, and b) to identify the issues that have concerned the Olympic community in the span of four decades. Moreover, by examining the major issues that have been raised within the Olympic community from 1961 to 1998, the author aims not only to specify and analyse the issues that the lecturers of the IOA have explicitly considered as problematic in the domain of the Olympic Movement, but also to identify any latent issues that might be understated or absent in such discussions.

Ultimately, the chapter will provide an understanding of the rationale underpinning the Olympic ideology and the power relations among the actors involved against the historical, political and cultural background of this period, seeking explanations for the reinforcing, challenging or ignoring of, values associated with Olympic ideology. Thus, while the two previous chapters focus on key individuals in the articulation and promotion of the core values of Olympism, this chapter focuses on a key institution in this domain.

The four decades of the Olympic Academy's history incorporate some significant events in the development of the Olympic Movement. The first three decades were over-shadowed by the Cold War and the struggle for power between the Eastern Bloc and the West. With the demise of the communist systems, and the increasing commercialism with growing television rights, the TOP1 sponsorship programme and the acceptance of professionalism, a new era had started for the Olympic Movement.

Thus the chapter is divided into two periods, during and after the Cold War. The first section deals with changes relating to issues such as the involvement of politics in the Olympic Movement, amateurism, the rise of commercialism and the shift to professionalism, women's participation, and doping. The second section deals with changes relating to the increase of the power of the West after the fall of the Eastern Bloc, such as the general shift from socialist economies to liberal consumerism, and the impact on local sport cultures, while it also highlights the emergence of new concerns such as the issue of environmentalism.

7.2 The IOA During the Cold War (1961-1989)

The survival of the Olympic Movement was threatened many times during the years of the Cold War. The formative years of the post-War Olympics were also the formative years of the post-War geopolitical system. The process of decolonisation produced new patterns and established new relationships among the world nations (Espy 1979). With regard to the process of the expression of values associated with Olympic ideology, the Olympic Movement during the years of the Cold War witnessed the following changes, as evidenced in the selected sample of lectures against the geo-political and socio-cultural context of that period: a) the shift from a movement characterising itself as 'non-political' to one which increasingly embraced involvement in world politics and recognised the need for developing its own 'political' programme, b) the shift from amateurism to professionalism and the rise of commercialism, c) the growing technological sophistication of athletic preparation including drug abuse by communist states and western states, and in the case of some communist regimes, organised by the nations-state itself, d) the formal admission of female members into the IOC and the rising challenge to male hegemony. Each of these issues is dealt with in turn below.

7.2.1 Politics and the Olympic Games

In contrast to other major international sport organisations, such as FIFA, which seek to produce opportunities for the demonstration of sporting excellence, aiming at the subsequent increase of their profits, the IOC has always expressed a commitment to

world fraternity and goodwill (Houlihan 1994b). The Olympic Games has been defined by the IOC as the terrain where the values included in the Olympic Charter are put into practice. IOC Presidents have always defined the purpose of the Olympic Movement in political terms, highlighting the contribution of the Games to world peace, brotherhood and equality. Moreover, the Olympic Charter includes statements of a political nature, which extend far beyond the realm of competitive sport: "Olympism is a philosophy of life"... "The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world" (IOC 1994: 7). Commentators such as Kanin (1981) have emphasised that, "the Olympic Games were founded with expressly political goals in mind and have thrived on ties to global affairs" (cited in Houlihan 1994b: 111).

Nevertheless, although the Olympic Movement has always promoted an international political agenda, it has claimed that the movement and the Games must be above politics. Since the years of Coubertin's leadership in the IOC, the members of the committee were characterised as the representatives of the IOC in their respective countries and not as representatives of their respective countries in the IOC. In this way, Coubertin wanted to safeguard the Olympic Movement from attachment to political and national interests. Brundage, also known for his strong positions against the involvement of politics in the Olympic Movement, argued in 1963, in a speech written for the Third Summer Session of the IOA¹:

To administer a project of this kind is not a simple task. As it was in the beginning, there are always difficult problems. The natural rivalry of sport or of nations, with some being stronger and perhaps more important than others, if not restrained, might well have wrecked the Games on many occasions. The solution was found in the International Olympic Committee, composed of individuals who do not re-present any country or any sport but do represent impartially and impersonally, the Olympic Movement and only the Olympic Movement. This Committee is self-perpetuating and chooses its own members. It was first appointed by the Baron de Coubertin, who charged it to en-force Olympic regulations and to preserve the pure amateur spirit of the Games, free from commercial encroachment, which would soon lead to disapproval, or from political intrusion which would quite obviously be disastrous. (Brundage 1963: lines 66 – 78)

¹ Avery Brundage was unable to attend the Session but the speech he had prepared can be found in the proceedings of the 1963 IOA Session.

And he continued,

Amateur sport has become an important part of modern life with millions of followers. Realizing this importance, some misguided persons seem to think that Olympic sport can be made a political tool. This is as erroneous as anything can be. The minute political activities are permitted in Olympic affairs the Games are finished. Never has the world been so peaceful that countries or political systems were not somewhere at odds. If not a hot, there has always been a cold war of one sort or another - sometimes religious, sometimes racial, sometimes political, and the minute distinctions of this kind are permitted, it is quite obvious that the Games will soon come to an end. As it is, the Olympic Movement furnishes a conspicuous example that when fair play and good sportsmanship prevail, men can agree, regardless of race, religion or political convictions. (Brundage 1963: lines 180 - 196)

Nevertheless, in the process of recognising the USSR Olympic Committee, Brundage, as an IOC member, had pointed out his reluctance to affiliate the USSR into international federations.

My own guess is that the real object of the Russians is to humiliate the West...every time they force a Federation to break down its own rules in order to let them compete, Russians prestige is increased and western prestige decreased. The trouble at the moment...is that about half of the countries don't want to annoy Russia, and any country, which is anxious to obtain a World championship, or world congress is reluctant to annoy the Eastern bloc (quoted by Espy 1979: 28)

In addition, as part of the negotiations between the USSR and the IOC, Brundage demanded, as a condition for the Soviet Union to be admitted to the IOC, that his friend and fellow IOC member Karl von Halt (Hitler's *last Reichhsportführer* (1942-5) and alleged war criminal by the Americans) be released from a Soviet camp where he had been kept from 1945 to 1949 (Krüger 1999). Moreover, with regard to the recognition of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the negotiations for the composition of an all-German team in 1956, Hoberman (1986) argues that Brundage demonstrated political eccentricity and naivety, portraying himself as the 'Great Reconciler', when in reality he lacked the sophistication required to successfully defend Olympic interests and to handle the contradiction between the anti-communist feelings of the majority of the IOC and their interest in communist sporting achievements (pp. 54-55).

In similar vein, Ritter (1978), President of the Olympic Committee of Liechtenstein and guest lecturer at the 1978 IOA Session, continued to maintain that sport and politics should be kept separate,

The Olympic Movement has become worldwide. Nations are participating; nations are competing, nations with different political and philosophical aims and structures. Olympia has sometimes become a battleground, even between races. There are, no doubt, positive aspects to the fact that athletes and teams represent their nation. *But one must remember that sport must not offer an alternative for politics. Therefore, political and national interests, other than the representation of the sports movement in the home country, must be put aside, outside the Olympic Games and movement. Political and racial as well as religious problems contradict the aims of the Olympic Movement and have to be banned or at least neutralised.* (Ritter 1978: 31 – 43, emphasis added)

However no one can deny the fact that the Olympic Movement and Games had always been attractive to governmental and non-governmental political interests, and especially during the Cold War, the degree of involvement of political interests in the movement had grown considerably. The increasing tension between the capitalist and Eastern blocs was reflected in the concerns of the IOC about which of the newly emerged nations should be invited to the Olympic Games (Guttman 1992). In 1948, the IOC members received the first draft of the new IOC charter which had incorporated alterations related to fundamental principles, the statutes of the IOC, the regulations and protocols of the Olympic Games and the general rules of the celebration of the Games (IOC 1994). One of the most important decisions taken by the IOC in this period, influencing to a great extent the Olympic Movement, and reflecting the changing geo-political map of the world, concerned the recognition of the NOCs. The new conditions required the NOCs to be formed by independent states (not colonies) and to be autonomous (free from government influence). This caused many problems in the Olympic Movement, especially with the recognition of the NOCs from East Germany and Taiwan, resulting in what became known as the problem of the 'two Germanys' and the 'two Chinas'. However, to a degree it also helped the IOC to gain power and become a more influential organisation in world politics, in that it could legitimate the political claims of one side or another in these political disputes, by offering recognition.

Moreover, the participation of the Soviet Union in the Olympic Movement was one of the many issues that the IOC had to consider in the post-War period. The IOC president Edström, in an effort to merge the ideologically opposed sport movements, fostered communication with the USSR in order to draw it into the bourgeois world sport (Krüger 1999). In effect, the IOC found it hard to ignore pressure for Soviet membership since the USSR had emerged from the Second World War as one of the strongest powers in Europe, and it was clear that the IOC leadership always wanted

to integrate powerful nations into their organisation (Allison 1994). The USSR, after several negotiations with the IOC, in which the latter gave in to virtually all of her demands, was admitted to the Olympic Movement and participated in the Helsinki Games (1952). However, there were two separate Olympic villages, one for the Eastern bloc and one for athletes of the West, to avoid any potential confrontations (Krüger 1999; Toohey and Veal 2000). The ideological tension was also apparent in granting visas and flag displays. The US and its NATO allies, for instance, between 1957 and 1967 denied visas on thirty-five times to some communist countries and western officials refused permission for Eastern Germany (GDR) to display its flag and emblem (Riordan 1999). Allison (1994) argues that the IOC in its acceptance of the Soviets had opted for its universalistic principle (that all countries should participate) over a fundamental principle (that NOCs should be independent of state).

In the light of this deep involvement of the Olympic Movement in world politics, the Dean of the IOA at the time, Nissiotis still felt able to argue that, "certainly, we cannot ignore the fact that Olympism is unavoidably linked with politics, but we should not allow the interference of international politics in Olympic affairs, as far as we are able" (Nissiotis 1983: lines 742 - 752). Nonetheless, Moltmann, German Professor at the University of Tübingen of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and guest lecturer at the IOA in 1980, emphasised,

Many athletes and athletic organisations feel themselves to be the 'innocent victims' of the current political crisis, which makes their participation in the Olympic Games impossible. They are right: in sports there is a dimension of the experience of life and luck that has nothing to do with politics and is therefore alienated by political interests and considerations. *But on the other side we have to see that the contemporary Olympic idea was a political idea from the beginning. From the beginning the Olympic idea represented sports and games not for their own sakes but for the sake of other goals.* (Moltmann 1980: lines 24 – 34, emphasis added)

Houlihan (1994b: 110-13) shares the view that the Olympic Games and Movement inherently attract governmental and non-governmental political interests for a number of reasons. First, as discussed earlier, the successive IOC Presidents and statements in the Olympic Charter reflect the aspiration of the movement to political influence. Second, the structure of the Games offers an ideal terrain for expressions of national interests. Although, since Coubertin's years, it has always been emphasised that the Games are contests among individuals and not countries, the

IOC has always perceived issues of participation in terms of eligibility of states rather than the eligibility of athletes (Espy 1979; cited in Houlihan 1994b: 111) (see for example participation of Germany in 1936 and South Africa in 1960). Third, the Olympic Games, one of the mega-events of modernity, attract political interests because they have been culturally significant to such a great part of the world. Finally, the high level of publicity of the Games makes them an ideal place for the expression of political interests. The French Pouret, laureate of the French Academy, has reaffirmed in his speech at the IOA in 1970,

Every time the Games are entrusted to a city, the whole Nation is concerned. The celebration of the Games becomes a political event. Eager to ensure national prestige, politicians have to clear out credits which lie heavily upon the budget of the Olympic city and of the Nation; it is noted then, that will of power leads to expenses which are, more or less, disputed by a part of public opinion because the gigantism of the organisation unfortunately tends to increase. Politicians, however, are anxious to enhance the glory of their country by ensuring perfect organisation and warm hospitality. Behind the celebration of the Games, there is always some very legitimate publicity and tourist activity, which goes on long after the end of the Games. Looking at the recent open competition for the organisation of the 1976 Games and what followed, we may conclude that Olympism is a matter of interest to the political power of several countries. There is, therefore, a very good argument in favour, not only of the organisation of the Games, but also of the Olympic ideal. (Pouret 1970: lines 185 - 202)

Nevertheless, the IOC has found it difficult to admit that international politics have a significant role to play in the Olympic Games. Despite the controversy over the Nazi Olympics, the IOC did not seem to be very cautious when it selected Tokyo to host the Games in 1940. Although it was known that Japan had developed an aggressive foreign policy, especially after its invasion of Manchuria in 1931, "in the eyes of the committee, the peaceful diffusion of Olympism to Asian shores was far more important than the ruthless expansion of the Japanese empire" (Guttman 1992: 73). With regard to the problem of the two Chinas, the IOC has been criticised for its failure to recognise that sport was no longer divorced from politics, refusing to acknowledge a potentially explosive situation (Espy 1979). The IOC's 'non-political' policy was also criticised in the Olympic Games of 1956, when it failed to acknowledge the impact of the Hungarian and Suez crises in the conduct of the Games. Immediately after the Soviets invaded in Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain withdrew from the Games. The president of the national Olympic committee criticised the IOC for claiming that the Olympic ideal should prevail over political matters. He cynically wondered, "How can sports prevail over what happened in

Hungary? How would we like it if our people had been atrociously murdered, and someone said that sports should prevail?" (cited in Espy 1979: 54).

As Moltmann (1980) argues, the IOC could no longer dismiss the fact that the Olympic Games 'are' political, and should move beyond this point by developing its own policy on avoidance of political manipulation, as expressed in the boycotts and the use of the Games for political propaganda.

*Another recent and harmful phenomenon seems even more serious for the future of the 'Games': namely the intrusion of the cold war in the Olympic Games. Governments have not been slow to recognize how much political propaganda can make of this universal sports event. First of all, the worldwide prestige awarded to the champions, which can only reflect back on the country from which they come. Even if it is the athletes who compete, and not the countries, the fact remains that it is the States, which are represented by name, by their national anthems, and by their flags fluttering from the poles. Too often nationalism — raised to paroxysm by certain members of the press — negates the real benefits of a peaceful encounter between young people from all over the world. Recently it is the practice of the "boycott" which has thrown a dark shadow over the "Games". If it is difficult for the IOC to ignore the political context of the world in which we live, it is also impossible for it to take retaliatory steps, which would only penalize the athletes, the eternal victims of any boycott. In the same way the IOC does not have the administrative, material and financial means to dissuade Governments from putting pressure on their athletes and enable them to take part in the Games. *We must not over-dramatize matters! Neither the intrusion of politics nor of boycotts are new phenomena! Even the Athenians had fallen into these reprehensible practices. They made their excuses later and had to pay a fine* (Moltmann 1980: lines 34 – 64, emphasis added)*

In similar vein, Parry, an Olympic scholar from the UK, a guest lecturer at the IOA, argued eight years later,

Even though Rule 9 of the Olympic Charter says that the Games are 'contests between individuals and teams and not between countries', and although representatives of the IOC have consistently argued that the Olympic Movement is non-political, nevertheless sport has often been used as an instrument of national politics in the world arena. Does this make sport (or the Olympics) a bad thing? The media are often used as an instrument of politicians—does this make the media bad things (in themselves)? *Of course not—but the question is: what can sport do to minimise the effect of external factors? To what extent should it? Does it do enough? Should Olympism be 'neutral', or should it have its own political programme?* (Parry 1988: lines 220 – 231, emphasis added)

Ever since the exploitation of the 1936 Games by the Nazis, and the boycotts, the IOC has proved itself vulnerable to political manipulation. As a consequence of this, the IOC has recognised the need for developing the capacity to maintain its own policy objectives and pursue its own independent policy within the international sport

community and world politics arena in general. Although the political dependence of many NOCs and IOC members on state governments can still cause political manipulation and weakening of the Olympic Movement, the IOC has gradually recognised the need to maximise freedom of action and authority in the world of international sport and politics. As the Russian Stolyarov from Russia emphasised in his speech at the IOA in 1995, "all those to whom Olympism is dear, cannot, in particular, help thinking about the consequences for the Olympic Movement of deep political reforms in the modern world, *and also about whether this Movement can itself influence these processes and, if so, how*" (Stolyarov 1995: lines 19 – 22, emphasis added).

7.2.2 The Shift from Amateurism to Professionalism

The Shift from Amateurism to Eligibility

The issue of amateurism has been subject to many debates in Olympic circles since the early years of the Olympic Movement. Ever since the first discussions about the term 'amateur' at the 1st International Congress in Sorbonne (1894), which Coubertin had organised for the promotion of his idea of revival of the Olympic Games, the definition of the term has been problematic. Coubertin (1896) was unsympathetic to professionalism in sport because "men (sic) give up their whole existence to one particular sport, grow rich by practising it, and thus deprive it of all nobility, and destroy the just equilibrium of man by making the muscles predominant over the mind" (cited in Segrave and Chu 1981: 36). Similarly, Brundage has been known for his rigid defence of amateur ideals. He argued in 1963 in a speech written for the Third Summer Session of the IOA,

Amateur sport is recreation, an avocation and not a vocation, play and not work. To exist and flourish it must be free, without either political or commercial dictation. Professional sport, so-called, is no sport at all, but a branch of the entertainment business like the circus; it is for the spectators whereas amateur sport is for the players. A competitor who is paid is a workman and not a player. The professional takes from sport, while the amateur gives to sport. These are fundamental truths that must always be remembered. We must never forget that "the most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part, as the most important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well". (Brundage 1963: lines 152 - 163)

The debate on amateurism mumbled on in the Cold War period, especially after the re-admission of the Soviets into the Olympic Games of 1952. Andrecs, Director of the Physical Education Department of the Ministry of Education and Arts in Austria, argued in frustration at the IOA Session in 1964,

I have nothing but contempt for that Olympism which has created the star cult that has placed in the service of business the Olympic idea; that Olympism which enslaves people, in which brotherhood is found only on paper, which has degraded the Olympic Games to another front of Cold War. I hate those oaths, which must be sworn in order to be able to participate for the sake of national prestige. I despise the games of the rich, the rich who can afford to be amateurs, or the athletes who are paid by the state. I tell you: That is not OLYMPIA! (Andrecs 1964: lines 344 - 351)

'State amateurism' had been a serious problem for the IOC during the Cold War, but it was not until 1962 that a more detailed statement on amateurism was finally approved at the 58th IOC Session.

An amateur is one who participates and always had participated in sport as an avocation without material gain of any kind. One does not qualify: if he has not a basic occupation designed to ensure his present and future livelihood; if he receives or has received remuneration for participation in sport; if he does not comply with the Rules of the International Federation concerned, and the official interpretations of this Rule number 26. (IOC Bulletin 1962; cited in Segrave and Chu 1981: 38)

Nevertheless, two years after this new regulation the problem of state amateurism did not seem to have been resolved. Zijl, an Olympic scholar from the Netherlands, argued in relation to this at the 1964 IOA Session,

If State amateurism is applied consistently and systematically by governments, one can no longer speak of an independent, national and amateur sports movement, by which is meant a sports movement clearly distinguished from undisguised professionalism. The State is interfering directly in the practice of sports to make it serve aims that have nothing to do with sports as such. If crack sportsmen are kept away from the official professional sports and are instead employed by the State, whether wholly or in part, conditions are created that are completely contrary to the idea that in the practice of sports the freedom of the sportsman or woman is the primary consideration. (Zijl 1964: lines 122 - 142)

As the problems for the amateur code still remained, Lord Michael Killanin, Brundage's successor in the IOC presidency, attempted to modernise and liberalise the existing regulations. In 1974, the IOC passed an amendment to the amateur code, also known as 'Eligibility Rule 26', which allowed reimbursement for loss of salary and legitimised the sponsorship of athletes by International Sports

Federations, National Olympic Committees, national sport organisations, private businesses, corporations, and the like (see Olympic Charter 1978: 16, 47-48). As Nissiotis (1983) argued:

Of course, athletes have to be assisted materially as they are sacrificing more and more almost all of their time in their hard training — but we should not allow sports to be the unique financial source of the Olympic athlete's professional life and money the unique purpose of his sports achievement. (Nissiotis 1983: lines 742 - 752)

Despite the modernised and more liberal character of the revised amateur code, many suggested that, although the material support of athletes was acknowledged and encouraged, the distinction between 'amateur' and 'professional' remained ambiguous. Parry argued at the 1988 IOA Session,

The IOC Rule 26 does not use the word 'amateur' at all, but defines status in terms of eligibility, and leaves it to each International Federation to define eligibility. Most definitions of eligibility refer to the engagement in sport for its own sake, rather than for profit. However, Strenk (1988) demonstrates in detail the absurdities and personal injustices which inevitably follow when each International Federation has a different eligibility rule, and when individuals are banned for seemingly trivial offences. People have been banned for 'contamination' (merely having unauthorised contact with professionals) and for 'personal conduct' offences (such as drinking alcohol or, in the case of Jesse Owens, disobeying an official). (Parry 1988: lines 394 - 425)

Parry (1988) attempted to provide an explanation of why the issue of amateurism had not been resolved one decade after the new 'Eligibility Rule 26',

What is in fact happening (with the emergence and success of communist nations) is that such an ideological conception as 'amateurism' cannot survive the struggle of ideas which inevitably occurs when nations with differing political ideologies (and therefore differing conceptions of Olympism) nevertheless have a mutual interest in arriving at a concept of Olympism on which they can all happily agree. (Parry 1988: lines 425 - 438)

After the end of the Second World War and the emergence of the two opposing ideological traditions of capitalism and socialism, the issue of amateurism became more problematic than ever. The amateur code required that an emphasis should be placed on sport's social, moral, educational and aesthetic dimensions, as distinct from the professional profits that derived from the practice of sport. Thus, the amateur was considered to act because of intrinsic motivation and respect for sport, whereas the professional based action on the private and material benefits derived

from it. However, although the rules of the IOC on amateurism appeared to have been uniform, they could be subject to different, often widely different, interpretations. Indeed, in the socialist tradition, there is no distinction between shared (common or public), and private, concerns, while the capitalist conception of life pre-supposes the division between public and private concerns. Osterhoudt (1981) argued,

The most notable difference between the socialist and capitalist interpretations of modern amateurism occurs with respect to the regulations prohibiting the receipt by athletes of any financial rewards of material benefits in connection with their participation in sport...The fundamental difference between the socialist and capitalist interpretations of modern amateurism stems largely from the monistic tendencies of the former, and the pluralistic dispositions of the latter. (pp. 42-3)

Thus, it is clear that the amateur ideal can hardly be considered as a 'universal' Olympic principle. The fact of the matter is that although the amateur ideal has been a tenet of Olympic ideology, "it does seem as though, whatever they say about eligibility, many International Federations of Olympic Sports either allow, tolerate or turn a blind eye to both professionalism and commercialism" (Parry 1988). In Parry's viewpoint, in an era when the IOC itself is involved in marketing contracts, "it would seem odd if everyone except the athletes were allowed to profit from their abilities".

Some have claimed that amateurism is a necessary and central part of the timeless ideal of Olympism. It still appears in the Olympic Charter as part of the 'fundamental ideals'. *However, I would prefer to say that amateurism was an expression of the times of de Coubertin—of the social and economic structures of the imperialist stage of capitalism operative in western Europe in the late nineteenth century. It was not present in ancient times, partly because the social structures of that time did not generate a bourgeois elite, and it will not (I predict) be present in the twenty-first century, when the Games will be 'open'. It forms part of one conception of Olympism, which is historically and culturally specific—limited in time and space.* (Parry 1988: lines 438 – 457, emphasis added)

The concept of amateurism only truly began in the nineteenth century in England and the aristocratic tendencies of nineteenth century capitalism. Coubertin and his contemporaries, being driven by their elitist values, overlooked the fact that many professional athletes had taken part in the Ancient Olympics (Osterhoudt 1981; Toohey and Veal 2000). Interestingly, Lucas (1992) has made the remark that the term 'amateur athlete' never existed in the ancient Greek language. Similarly, Clarke, Assistant Executive Director of the US Olympic Committee, highlighted in his speech at the 1988 IOA Session,

Coubertin conceived the modern Olympics as modern, respecting the Hellenic heritage but representing the cultures of the day. That principle has been applied since the outset of the XXth Century as well, leading to an 'out-datedness' of some of the original modern Olympic concepts. *The shift from debates on amateurism to debates on eligibility reflects well on the mutability of the 19th century concept of a sportsman. Allowing Olympism to demonstrate its value to all cultures of the world, to experience as well as to extol the fruits of excellence through competition, dropped exclusivity from the system and added significant financial burdens to the aspiring Olympian in the process.* On both accounts, Rule 26 has long been defining eligibility instead of amateurism, having been compromised by the continuing attempt to find rules governing the subsidizing of athletes-in- training that are fair (equivalent) for the athletes of all cultures. It need not follow that athletes-in-competition warrant prize money or that rules of eligibility be avoid of financial considerations. The spectre of the eligible professional is good cause of fear for Olympism, but the fear of the return of the circus gladiator pales against the fear of removing from youth the current realistic opportunity to prepare for becoming an Olympian. (Clarke 1988: lines 80 – 132, emphasis added)

Olympism has limitations in time and space, thus some values may become outdated, and other new values adapted to the new conditions in society might emerge.

If it is indeed true that the commitment to amateurism is dying, it is just as well that amateurism turns out to have been a historically specific element, which is simply becoming an outmoded factor. If, on the other hand, it had been the central universal value of Olympism, this would be indicating that Olympism itself is dying, since its central value is. *Olympism is alive and well, but amateurism is not. This shows that there must be some other source of the values of Olympism than amateurism.* (Parry 1988: lines 458-472, emphasis added)

As is clear from the debate around amateurism rehearsed by various IOA contributors, what are seen as 'core values' of Olympism at certain points in time, are subject to change as the political, economic and cultural context changes. No of 'immutable values', 'drawn from' as products of modernity thus appear as naïve constructs.

Commercialisation and the Shift to Professionalism

The issue of commercialism was not subject to detailed discussion at the IOA until 1992, when a special session was organised on the topic of 'Commercialisation of Sport and the Olympic Games'. Referring to this lack of earlier references to the issue, the IOA lecturer Milshtein (1992) from Russia noted,

At the very beginning of my lecture I called our session a pioneering act. Why? If you look attentively through what is, in my opinion, one of the unique sources on Olympic history, the monograph 'The International Olympic Academy' by Professor Norbert Müller, IOC historiographer, you will, unfortunately, find no special lecture on the commercialisation of sport or the Olympic Movement in the list of the topics of lectures delivered during the 25 years of the IOA history. Even in the supplement to this wonderful book, the dictionary of terms used in the monograph, you will not find this term... Thus, a long tradition idealising the Olympic Movement, world sports and the Olympic Games, as well as our whole way of life, was broken (Milshtein 1992: lines 142-160, 232)

In an attempt to provide an explanation for such an omission, he argues,

I don't know if it was because of this tradition, or because of the fact that it was not acceptable to speak of such things as 'commercialisation', 'professionalism', or 'politics', not only at the IOA sessions, but at the IOC sessions, as well as in IOC official publications, or for a number of subjective reasons, that it was considered bad form to speak of these phenomena. And, if somebody did speak of the phenomena, it was generally done negatively, which was especially characteristic of the mass media in the entire world. What is the explanation for such an approach? Perhaps [the answer lies] in the fact that until the 1970s the problem of commercialisation was not too urgent in modern world sports and in the Olympic Movement. (Milshtein 1992: lines 232-245)

Milshtein (1992) admitted that the Olympic Family had not been open to criticism or negative comments in relation to the Olympic idea. It is important to emphasise that Milshtein here provides evidence that the Olympic Movement, and the IOA, had been for a long time a place where criticism of Olympic ideology and of the Olympic Movement was not welcome. However, the fact that he complained about such an issue in the context of the IOA programme also provides evidence that the IOA had gradually liberalised, and accommodated themes in relation to current problems of the Olympic Movement, opening the way to criticisms and ideological diversity.

Prior to 1992, only a few references had been made at the IOA Sessions in relation to commercialisation. In 1971, Gafner, IOC member for Switzerland and President of the Swiss Olympic Committee, talked about the non-involvement of the Olympic Movement in economic and commercial interests.

The Olympic Movement draws also its moral strength from its material weakness, from the fact that it threatens no one. Without a police, without an army, until now without any important financial means, as Mr. Avery Brundage, President of the I.O.C. has so often stressed, the efficiency of its action depends entirely on the sympathy it encounters, on the support it raises, and the enthusiasm it arouses. Just

like the Red Cross movement, with which, moreover, it has some striking similarities, the Olympic Movement is entirely disinterested and justifies its existence only by the services it renders. It is the quality, nature, and extent of these services, which, by forcing the respect of peoples and governments, can make it a beneficial institution, whose intervention is sought by the whole world. (Gafner 1971: pp. 171-172)

Gafner (1971) characterises the Olympic Movement as neutral, non-imposing, deficient of substantial economic resources. In his view, its popularity purely derives from its strong qualities that are widely recognised in the international arena. Nonetheless, although the IOC did not have a police or an army, it had proved to be a very strong decision-making body helping to change, as well as reacting to, the post-War geopolitical global order (Riordan 1999; Toohey and Veal 2000). Similarly, although until 1971 the IOC did not have any important financial means, this did not mean that it was not seeking to find ways to increase its economic resources. Since the “anachronistic Depression-era Olympic extravaganza of the 1932 Los Angeles Games, which aimed to showcase itself and sport” (Nixon 1988: 240), the “Olympic Games became competitions between hosts” (Goodhue 1980; cited in Nixon 1988: 240). This competition intensified the political manipulation of the Games and increased costs and shortfalls. The expansion of the Olympic Movement, consisted of the IOC, NOCs and international sport federations (IFs), was also followed by an increase of the swelling costs and the commercial pressures. Even from late 1960s the Games had become a huge business with profits being distributed among the state, industry, the athletes, the sport federations, the IOC (Espy 1979).

Gafner, in his contribution as a guest lecturer at the 1987 IOA Session, was less ambivalent than in his previous lecture in relation to the commercial interests within the Olympic Movement.

‘Olympism and commercialisation’. Of course, our opponents are waging a real war against us in their criticism that we have given in to the temptation of money and turned Olympism and sport in general into an enormous money-making machine. To a certain extent this is true, but first we must take a closer and more realistic look before deciding that it is scandalous. (Gafner 1987; quoted by Milshtein 1992: p. 122)

Gafner (1987) admitted that the IOC had tried to find ways to benefit financially from the increasing publicity of the Games. However, he emphasised that it searched for sources of financing that would allow the IOC to achieve its goals whilst remaining

independent of public authorities. As a result of this, IOC's cooperation with private bodies such as American TV broadcasting companies and American-based multinational companies transformed the Olympics from an organisation whose future was unclear - after almost bankrupting a city with the enormous debit of \$ 1 billion in 1976 Montreal Games - into a rich organisation that earned millions. Thus, the situation changed dramatically in the next Olympic Games in Los Angeles, which are often seen as the climax of the ongoing process of commercialisation and commodification that were taking place in the 1970s (Toohey and Veal 2000). They were described as the "first no-frills, debt-free, back to basics games in modern history" (Kennedy 1982; cited in Nixon 1988: 237). Nixon (1988) shared the view that the 1984 Los Angeles Games "were a source of controversy and criticism as well as applause" (p. 238). The cooperation between the IOC and the TOP sponsor companies created a new culture in the promotion of the Games. They became more professional, starting a new era with the Olympic Movement entering into this entrepreneurial field with interest and developing skill (Lucas 1992). The involvement of multinational companies and the rise of capitalist interests were put forward as major critiques against the Olympic Movement. Nevertheless, the association of commercial interests with the Olympic Movement has not been a new phenomenon. Gruneau (1984) noted in relation to this,

...The Los Angeles Games are in no way a significant departure from practices established in earlier Olympics. Rather, I believe the 1984 Games are best understood as a more fully developed expression of the incorporation of sporting practice into the ever-expanding marketplace of international capitalism. (Gruneau 1984: 2)

Gruneau (1984) underscored the argument that the Games, from the early twentieth century, were associated with trade fairs promoting capitalist trade and commerce (the Paris Exhibition in 1900, the St Louis World Fair in 1904, the Anglo-French Exhibition in London in 1908). From a similar viewpoint Anthony, President of the British Olympic Association's Sub-Committee for Education, argued at the 1992 IOA Session,

From the start of the IOC it was established that profits might accrue from such sports festivals (the Olympic Games) and that these profits should be distributed equitably (...) I said the marriage of sport and commerce is not new. Almost one hundred years ago William Penny Brookes of the Much Wenlock Olympian Society

wrote to Pierre de Coubertin. He congratulated him on his brilliant idea to take the Olympic Games round the big cities of the world. "Your festivals", he said, "will make a profit — and the proceeds should be distributed among the participating nations". Olympic Solidarity is making that happen. (Anthony 1992: p. 158)

Gafner (1987) argued that the major problem for Coubertin was the lack of financial resources, and that the IOC, through contracts with private companies, succeeded in finding resources for multiple Olympic projects, among which has been the programme of the Olympic Solidarity.

Without the income from television and without sponsoring, there would certainly be almost insurmountable problems for the Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games, the work of Olympic Solidarity — about which its Director, Mr Anselmo Lopez, will speak to you in detail — would be reduced to nothing, and few of the International Federations would be able to exercise full or efficient control over the sport. (Gafner 1987; quoted by Milshtein 1992: p. 122)

In agreement with that, Clarke, administrator in the US Olympic Committee, emphasised,

Commercialism, not to be confused with professionalism, may cause many interruptions in viewing Olympic competition, but without it few peoples of the world would ever be touched by Olympism. Misuse and abuse abound, but harnessed, commercialism can enable the Olympic Movement to move through the XXth Century as the global celebration it purports to be. Never before has the IOC had the sources of revenue to distribute in support of Olympism and Olympians through needed programs and to needy countries. Never before has it been possible for the IOC to continue to expand Olympic opportunities without overburdening the host city. (Clarke 1988: p. 102)

In similar vein, Barney, Olympic scholar from Canada (1993), emphasised that to view the process of commercialisation in Olympic sport in purely negative terms would be a mistake.

For the most part, IOC financial resources extended to education-related initiatives have been dollars well spent. Subsidies allocated to National Olympic Committees and International Sports Federations, in part, find their way towards the sports and fitness development of youth. National Olympic Academies, of which there are scores in countries around the world, do their part towards the aware-ness and spread of Olympism, a reputable philosophy of life, irrespective of the type of government, economy or religion that dictates an individual's physical and spiritual environment. And remember Brundage's words in the mid-1950s as to who would pay for what seemed to be a good idea at the time, establishment of an International Olympic Academy in Olympia, Greece? Television made possible a handsome IOC quadrennial

subsidy to the IOA. The information and education-bent IOC publications Olympic Review and Olympic Message have also made an impact on the spread of Olympism. The IOC's Solidarity program, though criticised by some, has had modest success thus far. Much more must be expected of that programmes mission. (Barney 1993: p. 131)

Barney (1993) emphasised, "the ability of the IOC to support each of the projects noted above has increased commensurately with wealth attained largely from television and licensing income" (p. 131). Although, the massive economic benefits for the Olympic Movement through its involvement with organisations and companies provided the IOC with the resources to carry out projects, such as the Olympic Museum and the Olympic Study Centre in Lausanne, or support other cultural and educational initiatives around the world for the dissemination of Olympism, it is arguable whether the realisation of the Olympic values has still primary role in the Olympic Movement.

During the 20th century, the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement challenged the Olympic principles of amateurism, the pre-eminence of the individual athlete, sportsmanship, and international understanding that were promoted so eagerly by Pierre de Coubertin (Espy 1979). The concept of amateurism played a significant role in the post-Second World War period in formulating the political economy of the Olympic Movement. The IOC throughout the 1950s and 1960s struggled to defend the amateur code. Nonetheless, the violation of the amateur code was not something new and it was also evident in both World Wars. Moreover, although the principle of amateurism was central in the concept of Olympism, this was a legacy of the bourgeois origins of Olympism. As shown earlier, by 1971, the IOC decided to eliminate the term amateur from article 26 of the Olympic Charter, and by 1981 Samaranch completed the shift to professionalism (Lucas 1992).

In 1978, long before the big contracts with the multi-national companies, Ritter, President of the Olympic Committee of Liechtenstein at the time, expressed his worries about the roles of athletes in relation to commercial interests.

Athletes, known all over the world, are being used as a medium for commercial propaganda. They are becoming more and more commercial symbols. These athletes become dependent on companies and their payments to them. They are no longer athletes, representing sport and the idea of sports, but become, rather,

representatives of their commercial interests. As a result, sport becomes a vehicle of commercialism rather than the preserver of a worthwhile human ideal put to practice. If commercialism becomes overriding, sport will cater purely to commercial interests. Such a development is far removed from the aims stipulated by the Olympic idea. (Ritter 1978: p. 180)

By the late 1970s, growing nationalism, commercialism and professionalism had created an Olympic Movement that, it was claimed, was suffering from gigantism, political manipulation and uncontrolled commercial interests (Nixon 1988). Espy (1979) argues that for all three organisations, the IOC, the NOCs and the IFs, the role of television in the Olympic Games had become a “bone of contention” (p. 166). These organisations were competing in the name of commercialism and nationalism, thus placing the individual athlete in a secondary position. Milshtein (1992) reminded the audience of the 32nd IOA Session that, while commercialisation and professionalisation processes take place, the moral development of the individual athlete should remain the primary goal of Olympism.

While admitting that both the commercialisation of and professionalism in sport are objective and irreversible processes, in my opinion, another thing is important; that is to establish a framework within which these processes may be allowed to penetrate into Olympic sports and the Olympic Movement. It is important to work out objective standards for the regulation of such processes which will allow us to keep international sports and the Olympic Movement from turning into a means of commerce, of profit, and of exploitation. The moral development of the individual through sports must remain as a goal. The athlete must not become merely the means by which advertising firms, TV companies, and other businesses or any other body or private person seeks to achieve their commercial aims. (Milshtein 1992: p. 126)

Although the original emphasis of the Olympic Games was placed on the individual athlete, the growth and expansion of the Olympic Movement and the structure of the Games caused the emphasis to be on organisations for reasons of efficiency and feasibility (Espy 1979). Samaranch expressed his concern in relation to this at the 97th IOC session in Birmingham (1991),

The enormous progress of top-level sport and the popularity of the Olympic Games are the reasons for much-needed commercialisation. It is our duty to obtain part of the money that sport and our Movement generate by means of TV rights agreements, contracts with sponsors and other ways, and to use it for the development of sport, culture and the Olympic Movement. This commercialisation must, however, be controlled by the International Olympic Committee, the International Federations and the National Olympic Committees. We must not let

young athletes lose their freedom and become dependent on agents who determine where and against whom they should compete. Top-level sport and the Olympic Movement have developed so much that they are now vulnerable. Olympism, which is essentially an educational movement, must not allow Olympic sport to become mere show business. (Samaranch 1991; quoted by Milshtein 1993: p. 118-9)

Although the IOC President admits that the growth of the Olympic Games has led to the increase of commercialisation in IOC policies, thus placing the organisations in the centre of the Movement, he also emphasises, with an implied sense of paternalism, “we must not let young athletes lose their freedom and become dependent on agents who determine where and against whom they should compete”. This might reinforce the argument first supported by Espy (1979) that in the Olympic Movement “the ideals have been made secondary but have been used as a primary justification for its existence” (p. 171).

7.2.3 Doping and the Olympic Movement

The growing interests in professionalism and commercialism, which fuelled the competitiveness in the Olympics, were also associated with growing drug abuse particularly during the years of the Cold War. Although the first use of doping in the modern Olympic Games was documented in 1904, drug-taking had been associated with strenuous physical activity and sport much longer (Toohey and Veal 2000). The Greek physician Galen, writing in the third century BC, reported that athletes in Ancient Greece used stimulants to enhance their performance. In Ancient Egypt athletes followed special diets and took a variety of substances, which aimed to improve their physical competence. Likewise, Roman gladiators and knights in the Middle Ages ingested remedies and stimulants that would help them continue in combat after an injury (Waddington 2000). More recently, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries all the major commercial and professional sports, such as boxing, cycling and running, have provided evidence of significant drug use. There have been many incidents where athletes were taking various substances to enhance their performance such as strychnine, nitro-glycerine, opium, alcohol and caffeine (Hoberman 1992). Essentially the Tour de France has a long drug-related history with many of the cyclists being reported for using mixed substances that in some cases even led to death (Toohey and Veal 2000).

Nonetheless, technological development and the scientific advances of the pharmaceutical industry, together with the emerging need for new drugs that would enhance troops' endurance during wartime, altered morality standards concerning the use of drugs. During the Second World War governments allowed and organised drug use for the benefit of a strong army and this ambiguous moral climate continued also into the Cold War period (Houlihan 1999). The Cold War experienced significant advances by the pharmaceutical industry, which then designed drugs that would meet the specific requirements of particular sports. Thus, the modern Olympics in the era of the Cold War saw the introduction of drug-taking as a common practice (Toohey and Veal 2000). In the early 1950s, it was rumoured that Soviet scientists had been conducting hormonal experimentation in order to help their athletes increase their sport performance. Voy (1991) argued that at the 1956 World Games in Moscow Dr Jon B. Ziegler, an American physician who was a member of the medical staff for the Games, witnessed urinary catheters being used by Soviet athletes due to enlargement of the prostate gland from excessive use of steroids. To counteract this, Dr Ziegler helped the CIBA Pharmaceutical company to develop Dianabol, a very strong anabolic-androgenic steroid, in an attempt to help the western athletes to compete successfully against the Soviets. During the same period many athletes collapsed at the Games. In the 1952 Winter Olympics in Oslo several speed skaters overdosed on amphetamines and sought medical attention. In 1960, at the Rome Olympic Games, Knud Jensen, cyclist from Denmark, became the first Olympic athlete to die of a drug overdose during competition.

Until the mid 1960s the issue of doping concerned only a few sport specialists and had not yet become a public affair. As doping became more scientific and more widely practised, the pressures against its use and awareness of its direct or indirect negative effects grew, forcing the issue on to the agenda of both governments and sport bodies. Nonetheless, the complexity meant that problems arose in countering drug use given the lack of technology for testing all the classes of drugs in use.

From the 1960s to the late 1980s, the problem of doping was considered to affect only a few sports and certain countries, thus a small number of governments and international federations showed interest in solving the problem. Up until the mid to late 1980s, there were not many sports bodies that had shown interest in an anti-

doping policy (Houlihan 2001). In 1961, the IOC established a Medical Commission and in 1962 it passed a resolution denouncing doping but it was only five years later that this commission was re-established in better premises for developing a sustained anti-doping policy (Houlihan 1999; 2001). In 1963, the Council of Europe established a Committee on Drugs, which provided a definition of doping that was relatively ambiguous and unclear (Houlihan 1999; Toohey and Veal 2000). The *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) carried out some tests at the Soccer World Cup in England (1966) but then it seemed to lose interest in this matter. The International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), following the steps of the IOC, also established a Medical Committee in 1972 and two years later introduced compulsory testing at its championships.

Interestingly, even though drug testing at the Olympic Games started in 1968, it was not until 1988, and the decision of the IOC to disqualify the 100 metres champion, Ben Johnson of Canada, that details of a drug abuse case were broadcast 'live' throughout the world (Toohey and Veal 2000). Similarly, although drug use and drug testing at the Olympic Games had been controversial aspects of the Olympic Movement for a long time (and had intensified during the Moscow and Los Angeles Olympics), only a few lecturers had occasionally raised concerns in relation to the issue at the IOA Sessions (Paparescos 1970, 1971 and 1976; Silance 1977; Prokop 1977; Nissiotis 1981 and 1982; Kamuti 1983; Formo 1983; Powell 1984; Ford 1987; Siperco 1988). It was not until 1989 that the IOA accommodated a Session about 'The Concept of the IOC on Doping as a Counterpoint to the Olympic Spirit'. Read from Canada, Olympic champion and member of the IOC Athletes Commission, expressed his frustration about the delays in resolving the issue of doping,

Athletes and the Athletes Commission have not been silent on this problem. We have been calling for action for nearly a decade. While we are pleased to see that there is finally some movement in dealing seriously with drugs in sport, we are still frustrated by the slow progress. Why should we be so concerned? Certainly there are the obvious health concerns. But, primarily, athletes want a 'level playing field', so there is no PERCEIVED need to use performance enhancing drugs. We also want to protect the image of and integrity of sport. We all became involved in sport for fun. While some of us were fortunate enough to achieve the level of an Olympic athlete, to the majority of participants in sport, the Olympics represent a higher ideal, of the pursuit of excellence. If this ideal is tarnished, we may never again regain the confidence of the public, sponsors, governments, who make the Olympic Games possible, and cause the destruction of the Games. (Read 1989: lines 59-72)

And he continued,

But most important, our sport leaders must provide leadership. Sadly I must agree with earlier speakers, that the problem of doping in sport is not yet taken seriously enough. Perhaps only the imposition of severe penalties such as the exclusion from the Games will catch their attention. (Read 1989: p. 115)

Similarly, Papadoyannakis, Vice-President of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, admitted, "one might observe, of course, that doping is not something new in the world of sport; however, nowadays it has acquired a new form and dimensions that all of us who are engaged in sport should have reacted earlier to overcome this problem" (p. 82). Moreover, he emphasised that the early solutions and outcomes of conferences (such as the second Ministerial Conference in London in 1975) were not successful enough in controlling the problem.

Through these texts, attention was drawn above all to the moral and medical risks inherent in the use of drugs and measures were proposed to be taken by the governments and sports associations jointly within the scope of respective competences. There is no mention, however, in these otherwise worthy texts, of any sanctions as a result of which the spreading of the above phenomena would be curbed. It is evident that the first legislative texts aimed at preventing and not at curbing these phenomena in the first place; for this reason sport associations started carrying out doping in their respective countries both at random as well as during competitions of male and female athletes. (Papadoyannakis 1989: p. 82)

Papadoyannakis (1989) argued that severe penalties should be applied against the athletes and all those involved, including coaches, doctors and physiotherapists. The reluctance of the IOC, and of other event-organising bodies, such as the Commonwealth Games Federation, to develop a strict anti-doping policy can be explained by their interests in maintaining a healthy and drug free public perception of their events (Voy 1991). When the Olympic Games – assisted by effective electronic media coverage and higher publicity – had become a global success, the commercial interests were far more tempting than the amateur ideals. Thus, it is hardly an exaggeration to claim that the popularity of the Games incited greediness for further profits and success, leading to several corruption scandals (see for example, Jennings and Simson 1992). The coalition of political and commercial interests in sport also prepared the ground for the growth of another element, which came to be alleged as insubordinate – the use of doping. Although doping is fundamentally different from corruption, both can be considered as direct products of

political and economic interests. Typical examples of a politically determined doping misuse were the doping cases in the former East Germany and China during the Cold War. The typical example of the association of economic interests with doping is the profitability of big companies, which, by signing contracts to successful athletes for huge sums of money, increase the temptation to all athletes to make use of performance-boosting measures (Hoberman 1992).

Heinze, IOC member in the GDR (in 1989), guest lecturer at the 1989 IOA Session, argued in relation to the existing political and commercial interests,

It is hoped that a miracle drug often recommended by false friends brings quick success. Other people are induced for nationalistic and chauvinistic reasons to use forbidden agents. But a main reason should be seen in the striving for making the 'great' money, in marketing athletic performances. In order to take part in as many competitions as possible in the course of one year and to be successful in the fight for victory and in order to get the benefit of considerable prize money and cash prizes for victories and top ratings, athletes run risks as to their life and health, the consequences and effects of which are often not duly assessed by them. (Heinz 1989: p. 64)

And he emphasised,

In this connection it is particularly fateful to observe that also very young athletes use forbidden drugs in order to achieve fast athletic success and to quickly make money. It is with regret to state that several organisers of international meetings support this process by renouncing carrying out doping controls in a quite light-minded manner. Thus it may obviously be concluded that the increasing application of doping agents is closely linked with professionalisation and commercial abuse of sport. Sport must serve a sound way of life. (Heinz 1989: pp. 64-5)

Such claims, made by a senior figure in a sport system which systematically employed doping to enhance national performance, seem ironic. The modern context of high performance Olympic sport has been a highly commercialised and professionalised activity that attracts the interests of media and multi-national companies. Especially for the wealthy western countries, leagues, coaches and athletes experience much pressure to keep their sponsors and maintain the high status of their success. The sport clubs would therefore deny their cooperation against doping and would pressurise for short bans that might cost them with the deferral of their athletes (Møller 2004). Pariente from France, Editor of the newspaper '*L'Equipe*', argued in his speech at the IOA,

So, as years went by, scientific doping techniques have progressively taken the place of individual empirical doping. This development has been accelerated by the promise of huge profits and the spectacular increase of amounts involved in top competition sport, be it purely professional, as in the case of football, tennis or basketball, or non professional, through no longer amateur, as in the case of track and field. You should indeed know, that the salaries of certain players have reached stupendous levels. Naturally the people around them profit substantially from this situation and as a result we witness a proliferation of managers, masseurs, pseudo-technicians and even sham doctors who all eat a big share of this cake which feeds on receipts from advertising, television rights, sponsoring, all part of the sports show. (Pariante 1989: p. 119)

In similar vein, DeFrantz, IOC member in the USA, also lecturer at the 1989 IOA Session, argued in relation to this,

People are just beginning to talk about the effects that they have experienced. For too long, steroid use was a sports secret. Medical professionals did not take the time to investigate the consequences of the extraordinarily large dosages that athletes were taking. But now, people are beginning to acknowledge that they have been damaged by steroid use...sports leaders have failed to take effective steps to stop it. Too many administrators have looked the other way. In fact, some coaches have been directly involved in supplying steroid to athletes, as we are learning from the Durbin inquiry in Canada. (DeFrantz 1989: p. 108)

Houlihan (1999) emphasised that the reason for recording relatively few positive results was not only because the results of the tests were often considered unreliable but mostly because "there was a marked lack of clarity about where the primary responsibility for the implementation of testing lay" (p. 132). The high costs of testing and the expenses required for carrying out experimentation about banned substances and new doping practices were substantial economic burdens that all bodies wanted to avoid. Moreover, governments, too, are increasingly aware of the publicity of the Olympic Games and their power to enhance or undermine the prestige of a country. Thus, this has made it more difficult to sanction the use of drugs or admit that many of their athletes use them. Houlihan (1999) has also argued, "despite public statements condemning doping, it is accepted that the governments of a number of the most prominent sporting countries were systematically undermining anti-doping efforts, while a further group of countries were allowing policy momentum to dissipate lack of support" (p. 98). Heinze, an IOC member in the GDR (in 1989) also emphasised that the IOC, in order to tackle the problem successfully, needed the cooperation of the International Sports

Federations, the NOCs and the governing bodies of the sport organisations of each country.

The efforts being made by the IOC are aimed at preventing trafficking of prohibited drugs in the field of sport. This is an extremely difficult task, which cannot be fulfilled without the assistance by the governments as this also touches the ideal with medicaments. Without any laws concerning the deal with medicaments and relevant intergovernmental agreements it is almost impossible to control the illegal trafficking of substances prohibited in sport. (Heinze 1989: 66)

The cases of Dean Capobianco and Antonella Bevilacqua, reveal the complexity of the problem of doping. Both cases were tested positive by the IOC but their respective domestic governing bodies challenged the IOC decision in their federations' arbitration tribunal (Houlihan 1999; Waddington 2000). These cases illustrate the importance of cooperation among the IOC, governing bodies and international federations. Moreover, it also shows that the doping issue now engaged the involvement of lawyers and courts, increasing its complexity and the costs involved.

With regard to the ethical complexity of the doping issue, Rodda from the United Kingdom, a sports journalist for the *Guardian* newspaper and guest lecturer at the 1988 IOA Session, emphasised that unreliable IOC testing has often exposed 'innocent' athletes. Rodda (1989) raised questions about the IOC testing system, which has often failed to recognise drug users, but has raised suspicions for athletes who might have used a substance from the IOC list for social or other reasons (such as caffeine or pseudo ephedrine). Rodda (1989), in order to illustrate his point used the example of Linford Christie of Great Britain, a sprinter who had finished third in the 100 metres and who, after Johnson's disqualification, was promoted to second place. The sample, which Christie provided after the 200 metres race, was found to contain a level of pseudo-ephedrine that was 'unsatisfactory'. The IOC, 'giving the benefit of the doubt', did not ban Christie but this accusation had already damaged his public image.

The case of Linford Christie I would suggest is sufficient to prompt the IOC to conduct an independent inquiry into the whole area of drug testing systems. This is not an implied criticism of those who have worked so successfully in an area of growing difficulty (...) I do not want to leave anyone with the impression that I am

opposed to or in any way questioning the validity of drug testing systems. My words today are intended to bludgeon the efforts of those bent on getting the cheats out of sport; my cry is for the innocent, for those who play fairly. (Rodda 1989: p. 104)

The IOC drug testing system was further questioned some years later, when Dr Catlin, the American scientist who was in charge of the testing procedure for steroids at the 1996 Atlanta Games, made it known that four positive results had not been announced. The reason for disregarding the four positive results was that the ultra-sensitive IOC equipment could detect much lower levels of steroid in urine samples, which consequently did not constitute doping. On the basis of this and other similar incidents that had happened before (at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games nine positive samples were also disregarded), Chuck Yesalis, epidemiologist from Penn State University, criticised the IOC for not investing enough money on anti-doping research, resulting in inefficiency in providing valid interpretations of the test results (Houlihan 1999: 16). Nonetheless, the growing phenomenon of doping which put in jeopardy the integrity of the Olympic Games forced the IOC to undertake a leading role in the global policy against doping (Houlihan 1999). One example of this new role was the work undertaken by the IOC in establishing quality standards for accredited laboratories dealing with urine samples from the Olympic Games.

Acknowledging that the IOC has been the leading body in the global anti-doping policy, Matthia, IOC member in Togo and lecturer at the IOA in 1988, quoted the following from the IOC President Samaranch's speech in Seoul in 1988 (94th IOC session):

The desire for victory at all costs incites certain individuals to have recourse to illicit and totally unfair means to ensure that their athletes have an advantage often illusory over their rivals...in the name of all the Olympic Movement, in the name of all the millions of sportsmen who freely accept our principles and share our ideals, let me solemnly declare that we reject outright and definitively, these attempts at cheating which endanger the very lives of those involved. Doping is foreign to our philosophy and our rules of conduct. We will never tolerate it... Doping equals death. (Samaranch 1988; quoted by Matthia 1989: p. 129)

Interestingly, Matthia (1989), albeit coming from an African country, did not raise any concerns about the economic advantage that is given to the western, developed countries through the use of doping. The technological development and the

scientific advances by the pharmaceutical industry in western, advanced countries allow them to design such doping techniques that not only would meet the specific requirements of particular sports, but would also go unnoticed at the IOC anti-doping tests. Thus, their successful athletes attract the commercial and economic interests of the big companies, increasing even more the gap of economic inequalities between the core and the periphery.

In a more critical spirit than Matthia, Read (1989) argued in relation to Samaranch's statement 'doping equals death',

The President of the IOC used the statement 'doping equals death' in the opening ceremony of the 94th Session of the IOC in Seoul. And yet, this April he publicly expressed welcome to one individual to rejoin the Olympics in Barcelona after testing positive in Seoul. With all respect, I would suggest it is inappropriate to welcome back anyone who has violated this trust by cheating. We must be consistent. We must be forceful. And we must act quickly if we are to preserve this trust. (Read 1989: p. 115)

Read (1989) expressed his dissatisfaction at the inconsistency between the position statements and the actions of President Samaranch. Interestingly, some years later, the IOC anti-doping policy during Samaranch's presidency was placed under scrutiny for its ineffectiveness in tackling the problem of doping.

In sum, although the misuse of drugs by athletes had been evident since the early years of the practice of sport, it was during the Cold War years that the merging of political and commercial interests promoted it more intensively. Nonetheless, the interests of the IOC, the multi-national companies, the governments, the IFs, and sport clubs appeared reluctant to develop a strict anti-doping policy due to their interests in maintaining a healthy and drug free public perception of their events. Interestingly, it has been provided evidence that the problem of doping had been understated at the IOA until 1989. During the period 1961-1970 the issue of doping had not been raised at all, whereas during the years 1970-1988 only a few references had been made regarding the nature of the problem. Finally, it was in 1989 that a special Session on the topic was accommodated, where, although critical comments were heard about the slow progress in resolving the issue through the years, there was no specific critique against the IOC anti-doping policy so far and its underlying interests in silencing doping cases or downplaying the problem of drug-taking by Olympic athletes.

Most lecturers applauded the IOC for establishing the Medical Commission, for synthesising a list of banned substances and for supporting the establishment of accredited laboratories for examining urine samples of Olympic athletes. Moreover, there was no discussion about serious issues in relation to doping, such as the inequalities generated between the core and periphery. However, most lecturers emphasised the need for further education of athletes and coaches, with particular emphasis on the moral implications and health dangers of doping, and emphasised the commercial and political interests as the major causes for the acceleration of the problem during the Cold War years. Interestingly, the special IOA Session on doping took place in 1989, one year after the Seoul Games (1988) where the IOC had taken the decision to expose the most famous of its athletes, by disqualifying Ben Johnson, in an effort to maintain the integrity of the Games.

As discussed above, critiques of the IOC anti-doping policy in general, and the leadership provided by Samaranch in particular, escalated during the years following and were fuelled after the revelation of the 2002 Salt Lake City scandal. In the World Anti-Doping Conference in Lausanne in February 1999, fierce critiques of the IOC anti-doping policy were heard from sport ministers and representatives of government anti-doping agencies. They accused the Olympic Movement of short-sightedness towards doping and questioned the moral authority of the proposed international agency (initially entitled the 'International Anti-Doping Agency' (IADA), but later re-named as the 'World Anti-Doping Agency', WADA) (Houlihan 2001). In such a controversial atmosphere WADA was established marking a determined step in the direction of a successful anti-doping policy. Although the harmonisation of anti-doping rules and regulations has not been fully resolved and still requires concerted efforts of all the involved bodies, the establishment of WADA has been a major development in the anti-doping campaign (Vrijman 2001).

7.2.4 Women and the Olympic Movement

Women's low representation in the Olympic Movement, primarily originated from Coubertin's Victorian philosophy about women and the accepted idea that they were not suited physically or socially to athletics (Sargent 1889; cited in Segrave and Chu 1981: 76). However, during the years of the Cold War, the number of female

athletes participating in the Olympics increased, while a few women were also admitted to IOC and NOC administrative posts. Lecturers at the IOA commented on this change focusing on the period from the early years of the Olympic Movement to women's election to IOC membership in 1981. Lekarska, a member of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee, an IOC member, and a member of the Programme Commission, emphasised in her speech at the 1988 IOA Session,

Equality among all has been radically enriched by several new elements—to start with the increased participation of women in the Olympic Games. The initial period was characterized by long discussions—was the participation of women in the Games necessary and warranted. Opinions differed. Coubertin was not in favour due probably to the lack of popularity of sport among women, or as a consequence of the traditional outlook on women as mothers and housewives mainly. Coubertin's concept of the Olympic Games was clearly expressed in the following thought: "The solemn period manifestation of male sport, based on internationalism, on loyalty as a means, on arts as a background and the applause of women as a recompense." Most IOC members did not, however, share the last part of this definition and women did take part in the Games, though lagging far behind the share of men in them. (Lekarska 1988: p. 75)

As discussed earlier (section 2.5), the story of women's participation in the Olympics has been one of "struggle and diversity - power and control were fought over, not just between men and women, but between different groups of women" (Hargreaves 1994: 10). The under-representation of women in the Olympics Games can be attributed to cultural, economic, and political factors. The Olympics, as with other sport events, have become a terrain of dispute for different societal values, meanings and ideologies. In the early days of the Olympic Movement, at the end of the nineteenth century, power relations based on gender had an impact on athletes' participation placing women in a marginal position (Toohey and Veal 2000). Coubertin, when he revised the ancient concept of Olympism, retained the celebration of male sport, even if, by the 1st century A.D., girls competed in ancient athletic festivals (Tryphosa and her sisters Hedeia and Dionysia were victors in Pythian and Isthmian Games). Coubertin, reflecting the elitist values of exclusivity of the nineteenth century, argued consistently that in the modern athletic festivals women should not participate.

Nonetheless, even after the World War I, when space in the workplace opened up for women providing them with greater freedom in different spheres of life, the perceptions that sport was attributing masculine characteristics to women still remained (Birrell and Cole 1994). However, when medical sport research developed

and provided evidence for the safety of the female participation in competitive sport, myths against the participation of women were finally dismissed. Lekarska (1988) shared the view that, particularly since 1968 and the submission of the new proposals by the IOC Programme Commission for increasing the levels of women's participation, several efforts had been made to ensure gender equality in the Olympic Movement.

During the last fifteen years of this last period of the 20th century the participation of women in the Olympic Games has reached an unexpected numerical and qualitative standard. At the core of this positive development lies, to begin with, the status of equality among women and men in numerous countries of the world. The image of the helpless woman, dependent on man's commanding will, has largely disappeared. Most women nowadays take their destinies in their own hands with a sense of respective responsibility and this no doubt is duly reflected in their constantly growing sporting activity. (Lekarska 1988: p. 75)

Lekarska (1988) also emphasised that the IOC had set an example by electing two women to IOC membership in 1981,

It was rightfully expected that the enlightenment referring to women's equality within the Olympic sphere would not be mainly restricted to the Olympic Games, but that it would logically expand to the Olympic Movement too. From 1981 onwards a very good example was set by the IOC on that matter in electing to IOC membership several ladies, unthinkable of in the past, but this had no particular follow-up within the leading bodies of the National Olympic Committees and the International Sports Federations. If I have dwelled more explicitly on that aspect of Olympic equality the reason is that it happens to be one of those topics, which have undergone a very positive development in line with present-day realities. (Lekarska 1988: p. 75)

In similar vein, Clarke (1988), Assistant Executive Director of the US Olympic Committee, shared Lekarska's optimism about the IOC's progress in the issue of women's representation in the Olympic Movement, underlining the importance of the official entry of the Rule 28 in the Olympic Charter (1984), which stated "women are allowed to compete according to the rules of the IFs concerned and after the approval of the IOC" (p.18).

He emphasised,

Outdated in practice for many years, but now outdated officially, are IOC reservations about the place of the female athlete in the Olympic celebration. Rule 28, a one-sentence stipulation that allowed women to compete subject to the approval of the IOC, was expunged from the charter on the eve of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games.

As in all Olympic sport matters, women will compete according to only the rules of their IF. (Clarke 1988: p. 103)

Nonetheless, Although Lekarska and Clarke applauded the IOC for its progress to date, Anita DeFrantz, IOC member from the US, argued in frustration,

It is disturbing for me, as an International Olympic Committee member, to acknowledge that, of the 167 presidents of National Olympic Committees (NOCs) worldwide, in 1992, only six were women (...) only five of the 167 secretaries general of those same NOCs are women. Perhaps more important is the membership of the International Olympic Committee. There are only seven among the ninety-four members of the IOC. But prior to 1981 there was none. (DeFrantz 1993; cited in Schneider 1996: p. 108).

Similarly, Parry (1988), an Olympic scholar from the UK, emphasised that although things have changed since Coubertin's time, the achievement of change required much effort and time.

No women competed to begin with (de Coubertin thought that the only role for women was in presenting wreaths to the winners!), but since the early days some progress has been made. Many events from which women had previously been excluded are now open to them, and there is a steady increase in the numbers of female participants and in the number of events open to them. There is, then, no classical parallel to women's participation in the modern Games, which is a response to women's emancipation in the twentieth century. This development has been gained only with great difficulty and over the dead bodies of the (virtually all-male) Olympic hierarchy. (Parry 1988: p. 87)

As said previously (section 2.5), according to Hargreaves (1994), women's resistance and struggles for gaining their own place in the Olympics has taken place in three phases. The first, from 1896 until 1928 was a period of exclusion and there were only a few efforts to resist this. The second period, from 1928-1952, was a time for struggles for women in the Olympics, where women were accepted in certain sports. The third period, from 1952 until the present, is defined as the period of challenge to masculine hegemony, which was reinforced, with the entry of the Soviet bloc into the Games. Then the political medal agenda overwhelmed the gender agenda and nations concerned about the number of medals and not about the gender of the victor. Part of the challenge to masculine hegemony should also be attributed to the direct results of practical and theoretical feminist work, which dates from the early 1970s (Müller 1999). Feminist approaches developed, such as psychoanalytical, radical, liberal, Marxist, social and poststructuralist theories, in an effort to provide

explanations about how “conventional gender relations have been built, reproduced and contested” (Hargreaves 1994: 3). However, Parry (1988) argued that, though there had been a rising challenge to masculine hegemony, real equality had yet to be achieved in the Olympic Movement.

Nowadays there is more or less formal (though not actual) gender equality. This is a most important and interesting new dimension for the modern Games. It is possible to gather a few historical fragments which discuss atypical female involvement in the Games, but by and large gender roles were quite clearly laid down (...). Two distinctions are often made to avoid confusion when talking about equality: Firstly, we should distinguish between formal and actual equality. There might well be no legal barrier to women becoming members of the IOC, but there are actually very few who are members. In this case, men and women have formal but not actual equality in regard to their membership of and representation on the IOC. Secondly, we should distinguish between equality of opportunity and equality of treatment. Whilst it is doubtless true that, once on the playing field, everyone is treated equally, it is quite another matter whether everyone has an equal opportunity to make the team, or to make the competition. (Parry 1988: p. 84)

Thus, Parry (1988) naturally raised the following concern,

Women are competing in larger numbers than ever before, and in general the status of women's sport does seem to be improving worldwide. A major question remains, however, as to whether sport is a means to the emancipation and equal status of women, or whether it contributes to the perpetuation of existing inequalities. (Parry 1988: 279 - 353)

Although the IOC modified many of its regulations, women continued to be excluded from most positions of power and influence in sport organisations, including the IOC, but also from having the same opportunities as men to pursue careers in professional sport. Women had to struggle against male hegemony and to challenge sporting attitudes, values and images of male domination, even if the regulations allowed them to compete or occupy higher positions in sports coaching and administration. Nevertheless, limited opportunities for participation in decision-making processes in male-dominated leadership bodies in sport continued to exist in societies “the socio-economic status of women in general is low and women are paid less than their male counterparts in similar occupations” (Bailey 1993: 300). Moreover, female socialisation takes place into selective roles, which legitimates the dominant ideology of patriarchy (that is the system of power relations based on male domination) and, thus, preserves high ranking positions for the male leaders (Müller 1999). Besides, definitions of women in sport were always perceived in terms of their

'otherness' from males. In this sense, 'otherness' (or 'alterity', from the Latin word for other) meant how 'woman/feminine' has been socially constructed defining it to be what 'man/masculine (the norm, humanity) is not. This indicates that women were constituted as 'Others' or as peripheral in relation to the 'One' (the male), rather than being identified in their own, authentic and personal way (Ramazanoglou and Holland 2002).

In sum, the IOA lecturers shared the view that many positive steps had been made in order to increase women's representation as athletes and administrators in the Olympic Movement. Although in the beginning of the Olympic Movement the dominant elitist values of the nineteenth century prevented women from participating in the Olympic Games, changes in social, societal, cultural and political values gradually allowed their participation, and raised a challenge to masculine hegemony. However, Parry (1988) argued that even though formal equality had been achieved after the introduction of new IOC regulations, actual equality had yet to be obtained. He expressed his concerns in relation to the patriarchal structures of the society and the reproduction of those structures in sport organisations. Nonetheless, the lecturers in general did not refer to the factors associated with the Cold War that had, according to some, provoked higher participation by women in the Games. The heightened political and economic interests of nation-states, it is suggested, brought forward a political medal agenda.

It is also worth emphasising that the under-representation of women in the Olympic Movement has also been reflected at the IOA Sessions. The total number of lectures centred on women's issues was very low, with only nine lectures related to women's participation in the Olympic Movement in a period of twenty-eight years (1961-1989). Moreover, in some Sessions none of the lecturers was female (1961, 1962, 1963, 1967, 1976 and 1993), while the number of female lecturers invited to the Sessions remained low, particularly in the early years, as the same women were invited to a number of sessions. For example, Monique Berlioux came as a guest lecturer to the IOA fourteen times during the years 1968-1985, Liselott Diem, Carl Diem's wife, nine times during the years 1964-1983, Nadia Lekarska from Bulgaria seven times during the years 1977-1994, and Sara Jernigan from the USA four times during the years 1965-1980.

The IOC, in an attempt to increase the levels of women's representation in the Olympic Movement, set targets (and not quotas) in 1996 that at least 10% of those in executive decision-making positions in NOCs and IFs should be women by 31 December 2001 and 20% by 31 December 2005 (Toohey and Veal 2000). As shown in the latest statistical information published by the IOC (as of September 2003), 62% of the NOCs had achieved the set target of 10%, 26% of the NOCs had more than 20%, and 90% of the NOCs had at least one woman on the board (IOC 2004). In a joint survey, conducted by the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy (Loughborough University, UK) in cooperation with the IOC, which examined the degree to which the IOC targets had been successful, it was found that: a) there has been a rapid growth in numbers of women recruited since 1997, b) the women recruited are highly qualified, c) the women recruited are very active, and d) the IOC targets constituted a simple, understandable and measurable policy goal. Nevertheless, such targets, which are often regarded as *maxima* rather than *minima*, affect only the top layer of the system without taking into consideration the different social and cultural conditions in the different countries of the world (Henry *et al.* 2004).

7.3 The IOA in the Post- Cold War Period

The tense atmosphere of the Cold War, which had existed for nearly four decades, started to fade in the late 1980s. In 1987, the US and the USSR agreed to sign a treaty for the destruction of their nuclear missiles. This was followed by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan two years later (1989). In 1990, Eastern and Western Germany became a single and united non-communist state, while by the end of 1991 the Gorbachev reforms for democratisation of the Soviet Union and decentralisation of the Soviet economic system brought about the collapse of the USSR as a political system. The Communist Party lost popularity and centripetal forces were unleashed leading to the Eastern European revolutions of 1989-91, which triggered processes of democratisation, essentially drawing upon the western liberal model and accompanied by a process of economic transition to capitalism.

In some respects the structure of the world power at the end of the twentieth century reflected a return to a traditional power of multipolar politics, but in other respects, it manifested the sole military, economic and cultural status of the US (Held *et al.* 1999). The Olympic Movement witnessed the end of the era of boycotts, the formation of new NOCs, such as the Slovenian and Macedonian, Belarusian and Estonian Olympic committees, of teams from Uzbekistan, Latvia and Turkmenistan, but also the emergence of the West as a superpower (Eichberg 2004). Even though the Olympic Movement had always been criticised for Eurocentrism, following the end of the Cold War, it has been suggested that the domination of the Olympic Movement by the West has increased as signified by political power, economic interests, and the origins of sport on the programme. Indeed, Donnelly (1996) has argued that the Olympics are a form of global sport monoculture. In the sections that follow, guest lecturers at the IOA Sessions (1990-1998) reflect upon the new world order and its impact on the Olympic Movement and international elite sport. The main themes identified in the selected sample of lectures have been: a) the shift to liberal democracy and capitalism, b) the power of the West and the marginalisation of local sport cultures, and c) the emergence of the new value of environmentalism as a new element in the values of Olympism.

7.3.1 The Shift to Liberal Democracy and Capitalism

The 'new world order' after the end of the Cold War was going to be based not on ideological conflicts and shaky international relations, but on a common recognition of international forms and standards. Central to this new world order was the recognition of the need to tackle international crises peacefully, to resist expansionism and aggression, to control and minimise the production of weapons, and to secure the equal and just treatment of the individuals around the world through respect for human rights (Heywood 2002). The spirit of optimism for the beginning of a new era of harmony in global politics after the end of the Cold War is also reflected in Professor Stolyarov's speech at the 1995 IOA Session.

Mankind has entered a world free of ideological grounds for serious national conflict, and, consequently, the use of armed force is becoming increasingly inappropriate. In the modern period of the development of civilisation, the most important thing is no longer confrontation of different social systems and political forces, but the opportunity to increase material wealth and distribute it fairly, and, on the basis of

progressive science and high technology, to revive and defend together the resources necessary for the survival of mankind. (Stolyarov 1995: p. 78, emphasis added)

While at the time such claims might have appeared optimistic, optimism was the 'order of the day' in the period immediately following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Obviously in the light of events following the '9/11' attacks on the US, such optimism appears hopelessly naïve. Stolyarov also emphasised,

It is especially important to stress that the global problems and difficulties faced by mankind on the eve of the 21st century have created a desire not only to proclaim humanistic ideas, but also to try to realise them in practice in all spheres of life, including the Olympic Movement. It is increasingly being understood that, if mankind would like to survive, it must place in the foreground civilisation and humanism as reflected by the modern system of values, and aspire not to domination over other people but to solidarity with them. Of course, the social organisation of different states and the behaviour of people, groups and nations do not reflect to the same degree these human ideas, ideals and principles. However, we can hardly deny that any modern society has to make every effort to realise them if it wishes to achieve a high degree of dynamism and stability in its development and a higher level of welfare and comfort for the majority of its members and to make relations between its members more civilised and the member themselves healthier both physically and morally. (Stolyarov 1995: p. 78)

Stolyarov (1995), a scholar from Russia, also added that Francis Fukuyama and other intellectuals refer to the whole complex of such humanistic ideas, ideals and principles as 'modern western liberalism' and 'western liberal democracy' (p. 77). Fukuyama (1989; 1992), in his 'End of History' thesis claimed that the history of ideas had ended with the recognition of liberal democracy as the final form of human government. The image of a 'world of liberal democracies' suggested the superiority of a specifically western model of development, based perhaps especially on the USA, and it implied that values such as individualism were universal. However, Stolyarov (1995) emphasised,

Of course, Europe, the USA and Canada, embodying 'the West', have played the leading role in the development of humanistic and democratic ideas. However, at the end of 20th century, when the interconnection and unity of world history are most clearly revealed, the conditional character of linking such strong achievements of humanistic and democratic understanding culture only to one region is evident. The contemporary world includes a huge number of countries with rich and varied cultural traditions and intellectual and spiritual strivings. (Stolyarov 1995: pp. 77-8)

Parry (2004) has also argued that because liberalism *happened* in the West, this does not necessarily imply it is ethnocentric or less universal. Interestingly, Fukuyama (1992), after disputing previous accounts that democracy was the product of the specific cultural and social milieu of western civilisation, argued, "it was the most rational possible political system and 'fit' a broader human personality shared across cultures" (pp. 220-21). Nonetheless, as discussed previously, Von Laue (1994) argues that liberal democracy should primarily be associated with the West, as the lack of indigenous non-western liberal democracies suggests that "liberal democracy spread as a result of the westernisation of the world; its appeal is based on a wide range of factors, all derived from superior power" (p. 26). However, even though the processes of democratisation in the new independent states, which were formed after the collapse of the Communist Bloc, were merely drawn upon the western (liberal) model, they should not be seen as indistinguishable from western democracies. First, the values of their communist legacy cannot be discarded instantaneously (especially in the case of Russia where the communist system lasted for over 70 years), and second, the transition itself has generated very different problems from those of the western democracies (Heywood 2002). For these reasons, Heywood (2002) argued "this liberal-democratic triumphalism reflected the persistence of a western-centric viewpoint, and it may anyway, have been a hangover from the days of the Cold War" (p. 31).

The post-totalitarian change was also followed by a conversion of the old Soviet Union, and central and southern Europe, to market economies through processes of economic transition to capitalism. Liponski (1992), Vice-President of the Polish NOC and guest lecturer at the 1992 IOA Session, reflected upon the economic differences of the two systems in relation to elite sport,

What surprises us is that Polish athletes and, I venture to observe, other East European athletes as well demonstrate their pro-commercial orientation in a way incomparably more uncompromising than their western colleagues do. East European countries were for several decades isolated from the outer world not only politically but also in terms of economy. Despite all the ideological pressures, sport in the East Bloc became one of the most attractive ways for young people to go West and to enjoy there some of the benefits of well-developed consumer societies. These benefits were allowed and dosed out to 'communist' athletes hesitantly and in carefully limited quantities in order to immunize them slowly to the 'rotten fruits of the West'. During the first decades after World War II, 'communist' teams sent West were usually guarded by security officers in civilian clothes and 'politruks' i.e. 'educational officers or officials', responsible in fact for the political behaviour of their

athletes abroad. Then, in the course of time, restrictions became weaker and at least the separately wired Olympic Village for 'communist' teams so characteristic of the 1952 Games was no longer in existence. (Liponski 1992: p. 113)

He also illustrated how the economic restrictions imposed by communism heightened the Eastern European athletes' zeal for money.

But one factor remained unchanged until quite recently: owing to the well-known economic differences between the eastern and western sides of the Iron Curtain, 'communist' athletes were always poorly endowed with hard currency. When the era of 'permit-meetings' came into being, money earned by Eastern European athletes was at the beginning entirely, and then to a substantial degree, deducted by their state authorities. While in Poland and some other countries athletes were gradually allowed some percentage of the money they earned (though much less than in the West), in other countries of the East Bloc they did not get anything. As recently as two years ago there was an international rumour that one 'communist' team had been sent abroad without even pocket money and had waited at the airport for the mercy of the organizers and then a voluntary collection of money by other athletes. One can only imagine the psychological frustration of these people, who on the one hand know very well that in competitive terms they are equal to their foreign colleagues and have the opportunity of being in touch with all the luxuries of the contemporary world, usually inaccessible in their home country, while on the other hand they were not able to have easy access to such luxuries, except for the officially paid hotel and meals, and not necessarily even a bus or taxi from the airport. *Such psychological factors soon created among East European athletes a kind of wild hunger for western money, technological products and all the other amenities of civilized life.* (Liponski 1992: pp. 113-4, emphasis added)

Thus, the 'free' world of western societies, and the promising economic system of capitalism attracted many 'Westernisers' in Eastern Europe who wanted to escape from their poor, deprived and isolated past. Interestingly, many Westerners, wishing to see the ex-communist societies integrated into the 'winning' western capitalist system, kept inviting them to the West (Liponski 1992). The elite sport system in Eastern Europe and ex-USSR was far from enhancing nationalism and patriotic feelings and it was rather a source of dislike or indifference. Especially Poland, GDR, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria rebelled against the communist sport tradition and allowed foreign elements to intrude on their sport culture. In this new culture, elite athletes were no longer seen as part of a shared national heritage or bearers of Olympic success for the nation (Riordan 1999). This resulted in a significant emigration by members of the ex-communist sport elite, including athletes, coaches, PE teachers and sport instructors, to western countries. Such sport trade based on economic benefits unquestionably challenged Olympic ideals.

The more adept individuals, in order to make up for their so obvious financial insufficiency abroad, often metamorphosed into 'trading athletes', who bartered scarce items from their own countries in the West. In such a way they were able to earn money outside the control of their national authorities. In the course of time this became a common sight of East European sport and at the same time an additional element detrimental to the ideals of the Olympic Movement, with the effects lasting much longer than the communist economy as such in East European countries. It is true that after the collapse of the East European communist regimes all athletes there obtained much brighter prospects for their normal careers. Paradoxically, however, these newly acquired liberties did not limit their still greedy search for money and other western comforts and benefits. (Liponski 1992: p. 114)

The early years of the Post-Cold War period were characterised by the phenomenon of 'economic escapism' from the ex-Communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the USSR to the West. Liponski (1992) emphasised that 32 top Polish coaches were employed by foreign national teams during the 1988 Seoul Olympics, and by 1992 this number was increased to 180 coaches. In addition, about 1,100 sport instructors and PE teachers went abroad seeking opportunities to increase their income and improve their sport careers. Thus, although the communist states of Eastern Europe used sport as a contribution to develop a sense of national identity, the trading of sport specialists and athletes in the wake of Soviet collapse has raised questions about the effectiveness of sport as a contribution to nation-building. Moreover, the zeal of the East Germans for reunification and the emergence of nationalist movements in the Baltic states (mainly in Russia, Georgia and Yugoslavia) have provided evidence that East German, Soviet and Yugoslav nationhood might have been superficial (Houlihan 1994b).

The collapse of the Communist Bloc, followed by the dismantling of communist sport, also meant the end of many good practices in the communist sport tradition, such as its openness to talent in all sports, to women, and ethnic minorities, as well as its support to the Olympic ideals by contributing to the Olympic Solidarity programmes and its resistance to the South African apartheid (Riordan 1999). Moreover, the Cold War rivalry was a strong force for the growth of sport in central and Eastern Europe, while it was also an important drive for government support for sport in many countries (including countries such as the USA and Britain). Houlihan (1994b) observed that government intervention and support was reduced in the Post-Cold War period, referring to the example of Britain where the amount of money spent on sport by local authorities declined by between 30% and 40% during the period 1990-

1994, while the budget of the Sport Council had been frozen at its 1992 level (p. 204).

Interestingly, although sport in developed countries retained the lost resources of government intervention from commercial sponsorship, this was not the case for Third World countries, whose dependent position increased. Moreover, the new nations of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began to compete with Third World countries for aid, and thus funds provided by the World Bank and other international organisations were insufficient (Dodds 2000). Thus, as a result of the Cold War, the new world order appeared as unipolar, with the USA the only power which had the military, political and economic capacity to control international affairs. As discussed below, the rapid global political change, which strengthened the power of the West, had its impact upon the Olympic Movement and the ideology of Olympism too.

7.3.2 Power of the West: Cultural Imperialism and Marginalisation of Local Sport Cultures

It has been argued that the Olympic Games have long been deeply Eurocentric. As discussed before (section 2.4.4), Eichberg (1984) emphasised that Olympism is a 'social pattern' that reflects the colonial dominance of the West, and the everyday culture of western industrial society (p. 97). Guttmann (1993) argued that the Olympic programme, the organisation of the Games, the origin of the host cities, and the intense ritualism associated with the Olympic Games have emphasised the European origins of the Games and have imposed a specific character on non-western nations. Thoma and Chalip (1996) reached similar conclusions arguing that most world sports, especially the non-European, have been excluded from the programme of the Olympic Games. Several guest lecturers at the IOA Sessions, especially in the post-Cold War period, reflected upon the dominance of the West in the Olympic Movement, highlighting: a) the problematic dissemination of Olympism and its values in the non-European, non-western cultures, b) the oppression of regional cultural (sport) identities, and c) the monopolisation of western interests which have increased the economic differences between the core and periphery.

Lalaoui (1993) from Algeria, guest lecturer at the 1993 IOA Session, emphasised that Olympic ideology, consisting of values associated with a culture-specific context (that of the West) had failed to be adapted to the needs of the different socio-cultural systems of the world.

It is rather commonplace to recall that modern Olympism today, through the philosophy, which it conveys, contributes to social and cultural progress throughout the world. What is, however, more difficult is to know the reasons for which it has not been able to reach and transform, in a similar manner, all socio-cultural systems. The answer is that the Olympic idea or the Olympic thinking, which is associated with the historical experience of a human activity (sport), is not inculcated, taught and experienced in the same way in every society. The historical meaning of Olympism, the product of a collective human activity, is therefore quite differently interpreted in each individual national sports system. In fact, if we look back at the history of the sports culture, which Olympism encourages, on the theories, and concepts, which relate to the dissemination of Olympic values, *we shall see that the various aspects of this philosophy have developed outside a number of cultural domains*. The identification to the Olympic soul, which should generate, in every society, basic sports behaviour, driven by immovable and trans-cultural values, is given a different interpretation depending on the socio-cultural system concerned (Lalaoui 1993: p. 102, emphasis added).

And he emphasised,

It is as if modern Olympism and its generous ideas wanted to give, as such, the value of model to the logic of western sports practice, and make it a natural characteristic of sports culture, whilst forgetting that this formal logic of sports practice is also a cultural achievement specific to each country. (Lalaoui 1993: p. 102-3)

As discussed earlier in the present thesis, the Olympic Movement developed from the Victorian codes of sportsmanship and muscular Christianity, also incorporating values inspired by the late nineteenth-century interpretations of Hellenic civilisation. Lalaoui (1993) argued that Olympism, bound up with inherent Eurocentric values (those of Anglo-Saxon sport and of Hellenic civilisation), had not been adjusted to the different socio-cultural systems, thus failing to be 'translated' according to the cultural contexts of the non-European, non-western parts of the world. Notwithstanding Lalaoui's claims, it is argued that cultural identities across the globe were relativised due to the time-space compression in the late modernity (McGrew 1992). Thus, although a western global domination might be implied and some 'western' values have been spread, this does not inevitably mean 'western hegemony' (Ruuska 1999; Albrow 1997). Moreover, Parry (2004), taking into consideration Rawls' distinction between concepts and conceptions, argued that the concept of Olympism can be

understood at a high level of generality, consisting of values which can be subject to multiple interpretations given different locations in time and space. Thus, although the concept of Olympism might have been formulated in a western context of thought, its differing conceptions can be conceived and interpreted in many different ways according to different socio-cultural frameworks. Nonetheless, Lalaoui (1993) argued,

In our opinion, the failure of modern Olympism in developing countries is quite evident today: for the simple reason that Olympic values which were, above all, intended to democratise the practice of sport, have failed to reach and change the daily sports reality of youth and thus strengthen... As a result, for a vast youth population, which lacks the necessary background to decode the civilisation phenomenon which sport represents, *Olympism remains a myth, a muscular technology too advanced and therefore unreachable. In such a context, an Olympiad can only be seen as a show of strength, on the part of rich countries, which come to exhibit their technological advances in the field of sport and their 'muscular power', against the technological poverty and physical destitution of developing countries.* (Lalaoui 1993: p. 103, emphasis added)

Lalaoui (1993) highlighted the economic differences between the core and periphery, which are generated from the increasingly commercialised and capitalised Olympic Games. In similar vein, Landry, an Olympic scholar from Canada, invited in 1985 as a lecturer at the 25th IOA Session had emphasised,

The rapid and very considerable growth in the number of countries participating in the Olympic Games has not been paralleled by an equally large increase in the number of national elite, nor in their Olympic successes. In other words, the Olympic sports have diffused widely in the world... the medals have for their part diffused only little. In fact, we shall see that tendency has even reversed itself (...) The progressive 'universality' of the Olympic sports is accompanied by a growing monopolisation of the success by a handful of countries leading the way in economic and technical terms, two typical characteristics of western culture in the sense described above. (Landry 1985: p. 147)

Some eight years later, in 1993, Barney, another Olympic scholar from Canada, argued that the economic interests of the Olympic Games, as reflected in the commodification of the Olympics and the high costs required for hosting the event, had widened even more the gap between the core and periphery.

Will an African, or a Latin American, or a Middle East city ever be able to host an Olympic Games? Even though infrastructures are improving in those world areas, they may, in reality, be falling further and further behind in meeting increasingly high standards set for hosting the great festival. Should the IOC set aside resources to support a guarantee that the Olympic Games will be celebrated from time to time in

areas of the world that can only dream of ever serving as host? (Barney 1993: p. 132)

And he emphasised,

And though a pragmatist might argue that IOC resources have benefited all, a contending point of view could well be that they have benefited Europeans and North Americans most; Africans, Asians, Latin Americans, and Oceanians, far less. The sports culture that the IOC nourishes most, for instance, is not particularly one indigenous to many countries in those world areas noted above. What might be the destiny of specific culturally oriented sports in Samoa, for example, in the face of a Samoan National Olympic Committee and IOC exertion to foster among Samoan youth greater awareness and participation in Olympic sports, most all of which are culturally bound to Europe? Should Olympism include indigenous cultural sports awareness and preservation as well as sensitivity to Olympic sporting matters? (Barney 1993: pp. 131-2)

Barney (1993) also raised the issue of the integration of local sport cultures in the Olympic Movement, an issue that has been debated ever since the early years of the movement. Landry (1985) had argued in relation to this at the IOA Session in 1985,

Development aid in sport raises some severely practical questions, but also problems of ethics. Because of the present strength of the Olympic Movement and of the preponderance of the European and North American sports which are formally (and constantly) valued, the underlying patterns and standards of occidental sporting conduct continues to be exported to many countries where they bring imbalance and even cause the crumbling of local play and physical activity traditions. Thus in the eyes of many, development aid in sport and its international thrust for standardisation has many of the characteristics of a neo-colonialist movement comparable with those of world markets, multi-nationals, mass-media and global tourism. Example: in a number of African countries where one hoped to serve national prestige by adopting foreign (Olympic) sports and by calling on western coaches, one now observes with regret that the panorama of games and sports and other forms of play activities which were part of the very fabric of these societies have been taken up by occidental games and sports. *The author is of the opinion that the net result here is a regression of cultural identities.* (Landry 1985: p. 142, emphasis added)

It has been argued that the association between Olympic sport aid and multinational companies (based on the perception that developing countries could be the potential consumers of sport products, as well as the potential working staff in the sports equipment industry) has raised many questions regarding benefits to the West from the implementation of sport aid programmes (Al-Tauqi 2003). Moreover, it is often believed that the aim of sport aid programmes is mainly to help talented athletes in

peripheral countries to improve their performance by seeking to attain the Olympic standards, thus contributing to the increase of the competitive level of the Games (Donnelly 1996; Dubberke 1986). Lalaoui (1993) has emphasised in relation to this,

In these societies [i.e. the developing countries] you still cannot find a coherent and generous sports programme likely to establish a true pedagogy of Olympism. This is the reason why, for example, the different sports development models, which have been inspired by the West, have failed to introduce an elementary sports education within education and training institutions... As a result, we note with bitterness today that, in a number of sport disciplines, the gap is so big that many developing countries devote all their time and money to one or two sports. These countries then have no alternative, if they want to participate in the Olympics, than to sacrifice all available funds earmarked for the development of mass educational sports. It is important, one says, to take part in the Olympic Games, no matter what the results! So, every Olympiad contributes to widening, a little more, the huge gap between North and South in the field of sport. (Lalaoui 1993: p. 103)

In the light of all these, Donnelly, also from Canada, in his speech at the 1995 IOA Session, provided a model of convergence of the two ideologies of Olympism and professionalism, which he named 'prolympism', and claimed that it has an enormous impact on all forms of sport. The impact of this single dominant ideology is that it tends to reinforce and reproduce itself, it marginalises alternatives, and it creates a momentum that tends to draw all sport in a single direction (p. 59). He also emphasised that the Olympic sport aid programmes, also following the principles of prolympism, promote the western model of sport, thus marginalising indigenous sport cultures of the non-western countries.

On a much larger scale, Olympic Solidarity provides similar outreach programmes - coach and athlete development, sports medicine, clinics, facilities, equipment, travel funding - to developing countries in an attempt to avoid the problem, noted previously, of athletes failing to qualify for the Olympics under the new standards. Since this is frequently the only sport development funding available in many new and developing nations, it is eagerly accepted by governments who see membership in the United Nations and marching in the Opening Ceremonies of the Olympic Games as a twin confirmation of nationhood (MacAloon, 1986). *However, such interventions have the inevitable consequence of usurping and marginalizing indigenous sport and game cultures.* Various attempts to promote indigenous games (e.g., the GANEFO Games) have been unsuccessful in combating the Olympic juggernaut. *The limitations of prolympism become very evident when we see that judo is still the only Olympic sport that is non-western in origin.* (Donnelly 1995:pp. 60-1, emphasis added)

Thus, he questioned,

Is this a perfect hegemony? Has a way of understanding sport become the way of understanding sport? Have all available alternatives been marginalized or incorporated to the point where no new alternatives are apparent or even considered necessary? Has a single sport ideology - prolympism - become the order of the day? (Donnelly 1995: p. 62)

Marxists and neo-Marxists argue that the phenomenon of the Olympic Games has raised many concerns about commodification, global market power, the role of the state, and the question of resistance and the struggle of masses against the powerful forces of capital. However, even outside such an ideological framework it has been argued that the economic interests of the Olympic Games widen the gap between the core nations of the West and the non-western, non-European peripheral nations. This is even more evident when one considers the increasingly high resources required for a city to host the Olympic Games. Moreover, although the organisation of alternative and Regional Games has played a significant role in the global diffusion of modern sport creating a regional base in which globalised modern sport has penetrated into local communities, it can be argued that most regional and alternative Games either reproduced the same competitive (western) model of the Olympics (e.g. Regional Games), or promoted a political agenda in opposition to the West, but were eventually 'won over' through the political manoeuvring of the IOC (e.g. Worker's Olympics, GANEFO Games). The Olympic Games thus remain a western-dominated movement both in terms of political power and the origin of sports in the programmes (Toohey and Veal 2000).

Nevertheless, Cashman (2004) argues that this Eurocentric bias does not seem "to represent a handicap to the global spread of the Olympic Games, since many of the sports in the programme have become cosmopolitan sports, understood by sport communities globally" (p. 134). Thus many European countries are strong in Asian-origin sport, such as judo, while Asian countries now dominate in sports of European-origin such as archery, badminton and table tennis. Moreover, Donnelly (1995) has emphasised that the developing countries' participation in the Olympic Games has been important for their growth and introduction into the capitalist world, while it has also provided them with a terrain to reinforce their nationhood. He also argued that there are reasons to be optimistic,

Even within the Olympic Movement there is evidence of openness to cultural diversity...The Olympic Movement requires a cultural festival to be held in conjunction with every Olympics. These cultural festivals celebrate local, regional, and indigenous cultures and cultural diversity. Sponsoring cultural diversity in areas such as dance and music, while promoting the development of a sport monoculture represents a contradiction that must be resolved by the Olympic Movement. (Donnelly 1995: p. 66)

The Olympic Games are vulnerable in terms of their balance and size, as reflected in the programme of the Games and the unbalanced ratio between new and old sports, as well as 'regional sports'. The achievement of a better balance requires great inter-cultural sensitivity, not affected by the interests of television companies or of sponsors. Thus, Cashman (2004) suggested that it might be wise for the IOC to include *wushu* rather than golf or rugby in the programme of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, as "it would indicate inter-cultural sensitivity and a recognition of alternative visions of global sport. It would demonstrate that it is possible for the programme of the Olympic Games to evolve to take into consideration the changing global sports system" (p. 134). Donnelly (1995) has also suggested,

Organizers of the Games could be permitted to select all of the Olympic events to recognise and celebrate the sporting culture of their country. Olympic Games could be open to a great deal of many different sports. Or, in conjunction with the cultural festival, there could be a parallel sport festival, which celebrated mass participation. The Olympic Movement, which is now part of the problem, could also be part of the solution. The available cultural space is going to be colonised, and it is easy to imagine a time when prolympism will be a marginalised alternative. Now is the time to critically examine our current practices in Olympism, and to consider alternatives. (Donnelly 1995: p. 66)

Barney (1993) also highlighted the responsibility of the Olympic authorities in safeguarding the cultural traditions and maintaining a balance between the core and periphery,

The IOC should give as much careful consideration to the distribution of their wealth as they most certainly have applied to its creation. IOC coffers are likely to expand greatly in coming decades. So, too, will the ability of the IOC to make an impact on world progress, indeed, to promote peace and harmony, *preserve important cultural legacies*, and support dreams for which its lack of support will ensure that they remain just that, dreams. (Barney 1993: p. 132, emphasis added)

In sum, several guest lecturers at the IOA Sessions in the post-Cold War period argued that: a) the Olympic Movement is western-dominated, b) the monopolisation of western interests has increased the economic differences between the core and

periphery, and c) more indigenous sports should be included in the programme of the Games. Interestingly, although most lecturers originated from a western country (three were from Canada), they developed their criticisms against the Eurocentric character of the Olympic Movement, and suggested solutions for the improvement of the movement. This also provides evidence that the IOA has developed through the years, by being more open to critical comments about the Olympic Movement. For example, Donnelly (1995) emphasised in the beginning of his speech,

Sociology is a critical science. Such criticism is often misunderstood as being purely abstract or destructive. However it is usually motivated by concern, and the belief that the object of criticism, may be improved...Most have a deep appreciation for sport, and many appreciate the basic principles of Olympism, but they believe that improvements can be made. The criticism of Olympic sport that I offer today are made in this spirit. (Donnelly 1995: p. 55)

Moreover, Lalaoui from Algeria reflected upon the conditions in developing countries in relation to sport and Olympism, without hiding his discontent about the problematic dissemination of the Olympic values in non- European socio-cultural systems, the problems surrounding the sport aid programmes, and the increasing economic differences between the core and periphery as a result of the competitive nature of the Games.

7.3.3 Adaptability of Olympism: New and Outdated Values

The New Value of Environmentalism

A further set of issues discussed at the IOA is related to the integration of new values in the ideology of Olympism, such as the value of environmentalism. DaCosta, Olympic scholar from Brazil, emphasised at the 37th IOA Session (1997),

The short period of five years taken by the IOC to be adapted to the main environmental challenges may be contrasted with the long-standing discussion on the gigantism of Games (since 1910s), amateurism (since the 1920s) or the coexistence of IOC with International Federations and National Olympic Committees (since the 1930s). (DaCosta 1997: p. 102).

Concerns about the negative environmental impact of the Olympic Games arose in 1992 Winter Games in Albertville. During the opening ceremony, the local community

protested that the newly built infrastructure had damaged many parts of the alpine region. In 1992, the Council of Europe voted for a resolution supporting environmentally-concerned sports and disapproving the recurrence of Albertville's environmental abuse (DaCosta 1997). These rejections led the IOC President Samaranch to recognise publicly the importance of an environmental agenda for the Olympic Movement at the Earth Summit, held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development). The promotion of a 'sustainable development' policy became one of the fundamental objectives of the Olympic Movement that adopted it as follows: "Sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brutland Report 1987; cited in Agenda 21, 2004: 17). Most of the world's nations committed themselves to preserve the environment and non-renewable resources and adopted Agenda 21 as a global plan towards this direction (Agenda 21, 2005).

The Centennial Olympic Congress held in Paris in 1994 incorporated discussions about sport and environment and in its final document it called for the inclusion in the Olympic Charter of a provision emphasising the importance of protecting the environment. It also called for the establishment of an IOC Commission on Sport and the Environment. The IOC, in this way, defined its role in promoting 'sustainable development' and officially regarded the environment as "the third dimension of Olympism, alongside sport and culture" (IOC 2004). Thus, in 1995 the Commission of Sport and Environment was established having the role "to advise the IOC Executive Board on what policy the IOC and Olympic Movement should follow in terms of environmental protection and support for sustainable development, and to coordinate the application of this policy". (IOC 2004). Moreover, the Olympic Charter was amended in 1996 adding the following paragraph in rule 2 (role of the IOC):

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) sees to it that the Olympic Games are held in conditions which demonstrate a responsible concern for environmental issues and encourages the Olympic Movement to demonstrate a responsible concern for environmental issues, takes measures to reflect such concern in its activities and educates all those connected with the Olympic Movement as to the importance of sustainable development. (Rule 2, paragraph 13, Olympic Charter 1996)

After several years of preparations, the IOC created its own Agenda 21 based on the model of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). It announced the adoption of Agenda 21 at its Session in June 1999 in Seoul, which was later sanctioned by the whole Olympic Movement at the Third World Conference on Sport and the Environment in Rio de Janeiro in October 1999. The Agenda 21 for the Olympic Movement is bound around three objectives: improving socio-economic conditions, conservation and management of resources for sustainable development and strengthening the role of major groups.

The IOC, and the Olympic Movement, has taken many steps forward since the protests in Albertville (1992). The Olympic Games in Lillehammer (1994) and Sydney (2000) promoted the green profile of the Olympic Movement. In addition, the candidate cities for the 2004 Olympic Games presented preliminary or complete environmental impact evaluations at the first selection that took place in 1997 illustrating the increased environmental consciousness in the Olympic Games. Nevertheless, Lamartine DaCosta (1997) argued,

Despite these outstanding improvements, the Olympic Family is far from having environmental responsibility as a 'key tenet' of the Olympic Movement or as a 'fundamental principle' of the Olympic Charter in conformity with the 1994 Centennial Olympic Congress recommendations. While the environmental safeguards tend to be better recognized among sport leaders, the decision-making process of sport institutions is often as hidden as it is complex. (DaCosta 1997: p. 102)

And he suggested,

The judgement of an ideal Olympism rooted in environmental principles can be appropriately made in the Olympic Charter context in which "Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind". Should the 'balanced whole' be scrutinised with an ecological mindset, the interpretation would naturally refer to sustainability. Similarly, the goals of Olympism as proposed by the Charter, fit in quite well with the Olympic Family's adaptations to environmental guidelines previously described here. Thus, if "Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles", then the IOC with its commitment to sustainability and the Olympic Games sites' new ecological approaches are in line with both Olympism and environmentalism. Therefore, as a modification of Olympic Charter as mentioned before, a suitable suggestion would be to introduce the expression 'balanced and sustainable whole' in the present definition of Olympism. (DaCosta 1997: p. 103)

DaCosta (1997), albeit optimistic about the progress made by the IOC in the issue of the environmental protection, also acknowledges that a further, more substantial change in the key tenets of the Olympic ideology might not be achieved soon. The complexity of the decision-making processes of sport institutions, as reflected in the example of adding a new value in the fundamental principles of Olympism, can be better understood from a critical realist perspective. Although there is an external 'real' world, which is independent of its social construction, the social or discursive construction of that world has an effect on outcomes. Drawing on Lukes' model of understanding power, 'problems' and 'agendas' are set in a dimension which is often 'implicit', non-visible, non-observable (1989). Policy-making in sport organisations also includes deeper processes that are not necessarily revealed in the surface level of the exercising of power. Such processes, derived from sources that extend from the Gramscian model of power and hegemony, to German critical theory and the French post-structuralism of Michel Foucault, are best explained in literature in a broad range of what might be called 'deep theories' (Ham and Hill 1987).

Thus, DaCosta (1997), having acknowledged the complexity of the 'deeper processes' underlying any change in the fundamental principles of Olympism, argued that further changes in the ideology of Olympism might not take place soon. However, he highlighted that the latest amendments in the Olympic Charter provide evidence that the Olympic Movement is adaptable to the new socio-political pressures and conditions. Interestingly, he emphasised, "In conclusion, the IOC's environmental adaptation has proved the capacity-building of the Olympic Movement when exposed to external pressures, but equally suggests a lack of strength for resolving internal controversies" (DaCosta 1997). DaCosta (1997) perceived the resolution of the environmental issue as a necessary response to external pressures. The IOC, in an attempt to respond to the new demands of global society, has developed links with supra-national organisations such as the EU and the UN, establishing with them a closer cooperation in a number of issues, including the protection of world's environment (Roche 2000). However, with regard to the issue of amateurism, it can be argued that the IOC had failed to recognise that the Modern Games were based upon an anachronism (Milton-Smith 2001). The idea that

amateur sport should be the means to individual moral development and world harmony is largely an invention of the British aristocracy, as the original ancient Greek Games celebrated the classical ideal of 'a sound mind in a sound body', but involved professional athletes and commercial pursuits.

Outdated Values

The delays in resolving issues such as amateurism, and women's participation in the Games have provided evidence that the Olympic Movement has been 'slow' to remove the outdated elements from the ideology of Olympism. Interestingly, many debates have developed at the IOA Session about the meaning of Olympism, questioning its immutable and outdated values. Lenk, German philosopher and Olympic scholar, the first lecturer to provide an analysis of Olympic values at the IOA, emphasised in the 4th IOA Session,

Comprehensive investigation of the system of Olympic values leads to the following conclusions: There has been no essential change in the Olympic value concepts since the beginning of this century. (Strictly speaking, it is this continuity that enables one to speak of the one structure of aims and values). The constancy of values furthered the smooth continuity of the movement and its adhesion to the aims. (Lenk 1964: lines 218 – 233)

Nonetheless, other lecturers at the IOA have argued that Olympism has changed through time. Professor Roesch from Germany has underscored the following point,

Coubertin's illusions of the Olympic idea and of Olympism, which are based on ideality, are nowadays to a large extent outdated and are hardly taken notice any more as it was also the case during his life - time. But nevertheless some agreements are to be found which today have accepted value in a modern interpretation of Olympic idea, Olympism and religion at least in the wider sense. (Roesch 1979: lines 330 – 338)

In similar vein, Leiper, Olympic scholar from Canada, argued at the 1980 IOA Session,

The Olympic Ideal obviously had its foundation in the beliefs of Pierre de Coubertin. Although all the attitudes and beliefs, which may now be seen to comprise Olympism, may have been present in Coubertin's theories at the time of the restoration of the Olympic Games, some were not then stressed in his speeches and writings... It is doubtful that Coubertin ever sat down and structured the tenets of Olympism before presenting them to the world. However in 1934, looking back 40 years, he contended that 'Neo-Olympism' had been a totality from the beginning when he pointed out that it was not "... an uncertain creation whose stages followed one another timidly and haphazardly". *Parts of this description of Olympism are still valid today as an ideal but other parts are not. Both the beliefs of people and their behaviours change as society changes. The effects of economic, sociological, scientific and political shifts cause adjustments and adaptations to be made in the ideas and systems under which people live. Olympism has not escaped untouched. Today's sporting values are not those of 1896 and sporting behaviours reflect the new attitudes.* (Leiper 1980: lines 3 – 32, emphasis added)

Lekarska from Bulgaria, guest lecturer at the same Session, also emphasised the need for the modernisation of Olympism,

How are we to consider 'Olympism' at the end of this century, a question by no means incidental, as according to a number of sports officials, this concept is apparently in need of modernisation so as to fit the requirements of present times. In view of the fact that generalisations are more easily assimilated and dissimilated than substantial arguments, it seems necessary to draw the line between what we believe to be immutable and/or in need of change according to today's realities. (Lekarska 1988: lines 6 – 15)

And she highlighted at the end of her speech,

I wish to conclude this lecture by expressing my view that the basic Olympic principles, formulated by Pierre de Coubertin, have not been challenged by time. Vigilance seems, however, necessary to prevent trends, which might menace their integrity. Any other changes aimed at modernizing the Olympic Games and Movement related to more mortal matters embodied in rules and regulations should be viewed positively. (Lekarska 1988: lines 368 – 374, emphasis added)

Lekarska (1988) argued that Coubertin's ideas about amateurism and women's participation were outdated, but the values of internationalism, excellence and moral development through sport, are still important constituents of Olympism. Thus, she emphasised that any amendments and new regulations in the Olympic Charter should not be discouraged, but they should be seen as an integral part of the modernisation processes of Olympism. Professor Neverkovich from Russia, guest lecturer at the same Session also noted, "The Olympic idea and the form of its realisation have become part of modern times, enriched and modified by social and

historical experience, and will, it is hoped, belong to the future. (Neverkovich 1988: lines 157 – 167). With regard to the issue of amateurism, Parry (1988) argued at the 28th IOA Session,

If it is indeed true that the commitment to amateurism is dying, it is just as well that amateurism turns out to have been a historically specific element, which is simply becoming an outmoded factor. If, on the other hand, it had been the central universal value of Olympism, this would be indicating that Olympism itself is dying, since its central value is. *Olympism is alive and well, but amateurism is not. This shows that there must be some other source of the values of Olympism than amateurism.* (Parry 1988: lines 458-472, emphasis added)

Similarly, Clarke, Assistant Executive Director of the US Olympic Committee, argued in his speech at the 28th IOA Session,

Coubertin's initial attempt to revive Olympism, a two-country one-sport competition, resulted in a major problem within the concept of amateurism, a problem that has been maintained as an Olympic tradition of the highest order. 'Tradition', however, cannot be given the dignity of a value merely because it is a tradition, nor should a problem within Olympism be dismissed as due to an outdated factor just because it is a problem. (Clarke 1988: 14 – 23)

And he emphasised,

An ideal is by definition unattainable, and issues thereby evolve continuously. Among the various issues currently adhering to the preceding platitudes are some that demonstrate more a challenge for reform than an outdated factor. That is, any two of the preceding platitudes can be complementary or on a collision course, depending on the specifics of implementation and interpretation. (Clarke 1988: lines 85 – 92)

The shift from amateurism to eligibility, and later professionalism, as reflected in the amendments and new regulations of the Olympic Charter (1974, 1981) has provided evidence that the IOC has taken action to remove outdated elements from its underpinning philosophy. Moreover, the promotion of a 'sustainable development' policy as one of the fundamental objectives of the Olympic Movement demonstrates the ability of the IOC to adapt according to the emergent pressures and needs. Nevertheless, DaCosta (1997) emphasised that,

Although the IOC's environmental efforts are acknowledged, the traditional paradoxes of Olympism soon reappear. Because 'ever upward' is the Olympic creed - that is *citius, altius, fortius* - the ecological awareness of recent Olympic Games experiences have highlighted the excesses of sport and revisited its necessary limits. This interpretation finds support in Coubertin's memoirs from the beginning of this century; "sport moves towards excesses ... that is the core of the problem but at the same time it is its nobility and even its poetic charm"... But these recommendations [about environment] are ineffective in terms of seeking a binding definition of Olympism or given greater clarification to its philosophy (DaCosta 1997: pp. 102-3)

Thus, although Olympism, sooner or later, is gradually being adapted to the emergent socio-political, and cultural values, its inherent paradoxes and contrasts have still to be resolved. In sum, several lecturers at the IOA have raised concerns about the outmoded elements of the Olympic ideology, and have recognised the necessity for the Olympic Movement to adapt to the contemporary values of the society. Thus, evidence has been provided that, although in the early years it had been suggested that Olympism is unchangeable and represents an immutable set of values, this view has been largely abandoned, particularly after the mid-1980s, when several lectures emphasised the need for modernisation and changes in the concept of Olympism. Moreover, the integration of the new values, in particular that of environmentalism, was also brought into IOA discussions. However, although the issue of gigantism has been raised in Olympic circles since the 1910s, considerations on 'sustainability' emerged only after the 1992 Winter Games in Albertville. Similarly, the issue of environmental protection and sustainability had not been raised at the IOA Sessions until after 1995¹. Thus, the early concepts of immutable values, carried forward from the past (whether of the ancient Games or the 19th-century origins of the modern Games), are ill-founded. The 'meaning' of some such values has altered irrevocably, and new values have also emerged.

¹ The first lecture about sport and environment was delivered at the 1978 IOA Session by Abdelwahab Bouhdiba from Tunisia, while during the period 1979-1995 none of the lectures was about environment.

Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has sought to identify and evaluate the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism in the modern era against the contemporaneous historical, socio-political and economic contexts, as expressed through the writings of key sets of actors. The main objectives of the thesis were: a) to identify continuities and changes in the nature of Olympism over time, and b) to examine key actors' views on Olympism as a vehicle for understanding power relations evident in promoting and disseminating values associated with the Olympic ideology. As mentioned earlier, this thesis examined Olympism and its values over a period of one hundred and eleven years (1887-1998). It started with the emergence, development and expansion of Olympism during Coubertin's years (1887-1937). It continued with the struggle for survival through the period of the two World Wars and the start of the Cold War during Diem's years (1912-1961) (part of which chronologically overlapped with the last period of Coubertin's analysis). And finally, it concluded with the escalation and the end of the Cold War, followed by a new era for the global economic and political interests, as evidenced in guest lectures of the IOA in relation to Olympism and the modern Olympic Movement (1961-1998).

In understanding and evaluating the changing nature of Olympism over an extended period, this study has developed several intertwined sections. Based on these accounts, in this concluding chapter the researcher's aim is to focus on themes to have emerged for the research and develop theoretical reflections on some key questions.

8.2 The Contested Nature of Olympism

Olympism has been criticised for being inherently contradictory and our analysis has illustrated that the nature of this philosophy has been a contested one in the discourse of the modern Olympic Movement. Coubertin's rhetoric spoke of universal ideals and equal opportunities for all people and all nations, but at the same time his Olympism may be seen as exclusionary, elitist and racist. The notion of amateurism, a concept developed by the Victorian middle and upper middle classes to legitimise the exclusion of the working classes from sport, is inconsistent with the call of Olympism for 'sport for all', which was mainly made and supported in the aftermath of the First World War. The exclusion of women and the provision of a "podium for the celebration of competitive, physical masculinities in contradistinction to other masculinities and femaleness" (Wamsley 2004: 235) have also raised questions about the 'universal' ideals of Olympism during the early years of the movement. Racial categorisations and discriminations, sharing characteristics with Social Darwinism, were part of the operationalised Olympism of the early century, despite ideals of racial equality and fraternity. Coubertin, as evidenced in his writings, has often attached racial characteristics to indigenous people from Asia ('racial flexibility') (Coubertin 1931e) and Africa ('lazy') (Coubertin 1997e), while he for example also perceived the 'white race' to be the leading civilising force of the world (Coubertin 1908d).

Indeed, on the one hand the democratisation and popularisation of Olympism to the working classes in the inter-war period, the gradual admission of women into the Olympics, and the organisation of Regional Games wherein the 'colonised' were given the opportunity to participate and win against the 'colonisers', may be seen as efforts of the movement to come closer to the realisation of the higher ideals of universalism that Olympism has espoused. However, on the other hand, they may also be seen as strategic responses of the IOC, and 'punctuated' changes of Olympism, necessitated by geopolitical and social events that took place during this period. In particular, as discussed earlier in the thesis (3.4.1 and 4.2.1), the organisation of the socialist *Worker's Olympics*, the communist *Spartakiads*, and the *Women's World Games*, part of the social and political re-ordering that followed the First World War, exercised pressure on the IOC which adapted and advocated the 'sport for all' concept by calling for gymnasia with free entrance for all citizens

(1927c). However, it should also be noted that in terms of women's participation in the Games, Coubertin remained adamant in maintaining position on his early decision of exclusion even if external pressures were exercised on him, and this suggests that his aristocratic, patriarchal values were more important to him. Moreover, the organisation of the Regional Games and the admission of the colonised to participate in those Games should be seen as part of a broader political imperialist propaganda to ensure European domination by admitting indigenous people into the modern Olympic Movement, preempting any move for them to organise their own sporting movement (Coubertin 1997e). Such motives, rather than that of an 'honest' attempt of the IOC to contribute to the development of indigenous sports practices, are evident in the material reviewed earlier in the thesis. The value of universalism was once again undermined when Coubertin in his *Charter of Sports Reform* called for the "suppression of all world-wide Games which are merely useless repetition of the Olympic Games and which have an Ethnical, Political, or Religious character" (IOC 1930; cited in Wamsley 2004: 235) and ensured that the only Regional Games that would survive would be the ones placed under the control and management of the Olympic Movement (Coubertin 1997a).

Another contested element in the nature of Olympism, as evidenced in Coubertin's writings, was the advocacy of internationalism, as opposed to the political and nationalistic interests attached to Olympism from its modern inception. Whilst it may be claimed that Coubertin was a true internationalist of his era who saw sport as a vehicle for international understanding and peace, it could also be argued that Coubertin's wish to improve the physical fitness and ability of the French military (and thus improve his country's prospects in war) was a major inspiration to revive the modern Olympic Games (Coubertin 1896b). Moreover, although Coubertin's notion of 'sporting geographies' was meant to attach an apolitical nature to the Games, favouring 'national' as opposed to 'nation-state', such a prospect was undermined by the nationalistic structure initiated by the IOC, which stated that athletes must compete in national uniform and parade under their country's flag.

Interestingly, the contested nature of Olympism is not only obvious in its inconsistencies and paradoxes, but also in its eclectic approach in embracing and combining values of other systems or civilisations. This is particularly obvious in the examples of Anglo-Saxon cultural ethos and Hellenic civilisation, whose values have

been incorporated in the philosophy of Olympism. The rationale for adopting some of their values (e.g. body, mind and spirit from the Hellenic civilisation, chivalry and fair play from the Anglo-Saxon culture) may be interpreted in terms of political benefits for the promotion of the Olympic Movement in its early years, given the popularity of those disciplines in the circles of the ruling class of Europe in the late nineteenth century (see also 5.3.2). Moreover, the transition from Hellenism to Anglo-Saxonism as a core element of Olympism may also be interpreted as part of the political manoeuvring of Coubertin to maintain the international character of his enterprise and distance himself from the nationalistic intentions and interests of the Greeks over the Games after the Athens Olympic Games in 1896 (Coubertin 1997p). Coubertin's eclectic approach in selecting and combining elements of other philosophies and cultures in order to ensure the popularity of Olympism has provided evidence for two things: first that the (contested) nature of Olympism has been constructed on a political agenda which served its promotion and secured its success; and second that the core of the Olympic thinking has not been a coherent philosophy; rather it has been a network of ideas, open to different interpretations and applications in varying contexts, a point to which we shall return later.

Evidence of the contested nature of Olympism during the early and mid-20th century has not only been found in Coubertin's writings but also in Diem's essays and correspondence. The major tension evident in his written work has been the conflicting interests between Olympic internationalism and German nationalism. As discussed earlier in the thesis (6.1.2), Diem's influence by the Volkish ideology was apparent in the anti-modernist, nationalist and racist references that he has made throughout his writings (see also 6.1.3). However, there is no evidence that his German nationalism undermined the Olympic internationalism, to which he proved to have been a 'faithful disciple' until the end of his life as reflected in his being a key player in the establishment of the IOA. However, questions have been raised with regard to the lack of a post-war apology about his collaboration with the Nazis in the 1936 Berlin Games, as well as about the German nationalist interests for the revival of the German state and the reinstatement of German 'pride' underlying the project of the archaeological excavations in Olympia and the founding of the IOA. Diem's exclusionary statements in terms of race, a reflection of German 'organic' nationalism, have raised questions once again about the ideals of universalism and equality that Olympism has embraced and espoused. Moreover, any notion of an

idealised multiculturalism is also undermined by paternalistic references in relation to indigenous sporting cultures which he argued should be placed in the peripheral, and non-competitive part, of the Olympic Games (Diem 1957d), leaving the western sporting system as the dominant form of Olympic sport (Diem 1933a).

With reference to the nature of Olympism toward the end of the 20th century, as evidenced throughout the set of data from the IOA, several shifts have taken place in terms of the selection of speakers, themes for discussion, and the rhetoric of discourse of the academy, all of which show increasing variety and diversity in the four decades covered in our analysis. In particular, whereas speakers were predominantly white and male during the early years of the academy, greater cultural, ethnic and gender diversity has been evident in more recent years. Interestingly, whereas Olympism in its early years had the tendency to deny its openness to change and was perceived as something immutable or unchanging (Lenk 1964), this was subsequently undermined by overt debate and contesting of Olympic values (Roesch 1979; Leiper 1980; Clarke 1988; Lekarska 1988; Parry 1988). This is evident, for example, in the incorporation of the new value of environmentalism and the 'dropping' of older values such as amateurism. Olympism has become a subject open to criticism rather than a closed network of ideas, and the example of Lalaoui from Algeria (1993), who scrutinised in his speech the ways of disseminating Olympism in the African context, has provided evidence that a western-centric view of Olympism had started to give its way to pluralist visions of Olympism.

8.3 Theorising the Changing Nature of the Ideology of Olympism

This thesis has been concerned to address the changing nature of the core philosophy of the Olympic Movement, Olympism, across a period of more than a century. The changing background against which this philosophy has developed and evolved is however one which is not simply a matter of changing economic, political and cultural circumstances. It is in effect against the background of changing worldviews/ epistemologies that the philosophy has developed. This shift in epistemological frameworks is captured best perhaps in two discussions. The first is that of a shift from the certainty of modernity and the Enlightenment project to a

more fragmented, pluralist and uncertain set of worldviews variously expressed in what have been termed 'late', 'high' or 'post'-modernity. The second is the growing recognition in the post-colonial era of the western-centric (orientalist) (Said 1993) nature of many of the claims and assumptions implicit in the 'common sense' notions or espoused philosophies evident throughout the 20th century.

The approach adopted has been to try to evaluate the application of different theoretical traditions. As discussed earlier in the thesis, the theoretical approaches of modernisation, cultural imperialism and globalisation have been chosen on the basis of assisting the researcher to understand global phenomena and conceptualise global shifts. Modernisation provided an explanation of the global process by which traditional societies achieved modernity. Cultural Imperialism interpreted global processes investigating cross-cultural processes dominated by the West from an economic point of view. The broader set of globalisation theories provided insights in understanding global phenomena from different, multi-causal perspectives. A 'globalisation' perspective is most useful, for it incorporates a recognition of the western-centric set of perspectives employed in social changes of an earlier era, but does not reduce them to a unidirectional process. The explanatory force of each of these perspectives will be utilised in understanding and evaluating the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism over a period of one hundred and eleven years (1887-1998).

8.3.1 Modernisation

The modernisation approach evaluates how the process of 'modernisation' of traditional societies has had an impact upon the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism. As discussed earlier in the thesis, Rostow's (1960) model of economic growth identifies five stages of development: a) the traditional society, b) the preconditions for take off, c) the take off, c) the drive to maturity, and d) the age of mass consumption. The transition from a 'traditional' society to a society of 'mass consumption' is followed by different processes, such as rationalisation, bureaucratisation and secularisation. As modern societies focus on material success, (stage four in Rostow's model, 'age of mass consumption') more and more institutions and projects are valued in their ability to produce short-term outcomes.

Moreover, modern societies are characterised by highly developed state systems that are autonomous but also operate to coordinate the society as a whole. Thus a highly sophisticated system of communication inside and outside government is required and this is achieved by employing bureaucratisation (Waters 2001).

The emergence of Olympism, associated with the practice of modern sport in the late nineteenth century, should be examined within the context of European modernity and modernisation processes. As Guttmann (1978) has argued, the distinct characteristics of modern sport are seven: secularism, equality of opportunity to compete, specialisation of roles, rationalisation, bureaucratic organisation, quantification, and the quest for records (p. 15). Although games and sports were not the exclusive privilege of the British, Britain has been acknowledged as the society that developed them into their current forms. Many of the rules of sport were first codified in nineteenth-century England, the place where their governing bodies were also established (Guttmann 1978; 1994). Coubertin drew largely on characteristics of modern (mainly Anglo-Saxon) sport for the formation of the ideology of Olympism. Moreover, not only did Coubertin advocate the separation between church and state in France, he also promoted the notion of Olympism as a modern, 'secular' and 'universal' religion (*religio athletae*) (Coubertin 1935a).

Diem also considered sport as analogous to religious experience. However, Diem was also strongly influenced by the Volkish hostility to industrialisation, which he sometimes expressed by a moderate anti-modernist outlook (see also 6.1.3). Though appalled by the effects of the industrialisation, he saw in sport a great opportunity to balance the negative effects of industrialisation and advanced technology (Diem 1957c). Notwithstanding his hostility toward technical advances, Diem, as a sports person and a sports bureaucrat, also recognised their benefits on the improvement of sport techniques (Diem 1941; cited in Hoberman 1986: 48). He saw modernisation processes as inevitable and considered sport as the healthiest element of the 'homogenisation of culture' that was taking place (Diem 1933; cited in Hoberman 1986: 48).

However, although evidence has been provided that Olympism may have reflected modernisation processes such as rationalisation and secularisation, particularly at its emergence, there is also evidence that alternative descriptions of the process of

modernisation as 'Europeanisation', or 'Westernisation' may be more appropriate. Thus we turn our attention to explanations which relate to notions of cultural imperialism.

8.3.2 Cultural Imperialism

As discussed earlier in the thesis, cultural imperialism, unlike modernisation theory, takes into account the enormous influence exercised by the West during colonisation and addresses the issues of cultural dominance. It examines in depth the impact of colonialism in the development of non-western countries (Guttmann 1994). An eclectic approach to Olympism, which combined the values of the re-invented nineteenth-century popular account of Hellenism, and the principles of British 'imperial' athleticism, have provided evidence of how Olympism, at its emergence, was aimed by its proponents to appeal to the representatives of the ruling class across Europe. In addition, Coubertin's approach to Hellenism, as the cradle of western civilisation, has also provided evidence that his interpretation of modernity is fundamentally Euro-centric. It has been argued earlier in the thesis that that the 'discontinuity' from classical Hellenism to modern Europe, reconstructed by the European classicists and Romantics as 'continuity' and without references to the linear development from ancient Hellas to modern Helleno-Christianity, may be seen as a Euro-centric argument, which served national and European interests. Moreover, Coubertin usually lays emphasis on events that took place in Europe or were controlled by western European powers (e.g. African colonialism). Even when he refers to civilisations outside Europe, his perspective is always in relation to the West. Adopting Dussel's (2000) perspective, we would agree that such an approach is 'Eurocentric', as it indicates intra-European phenomena as the starting point of modernity and provides explanations regarding the development of world phenomena always using Europe as the main reference point.

Moreover, the social structures of imperialism that defined colonial relationships and produced powerful images of 'Others' are also reflected in the expression of Olympism during the early years of its expansion outside Europe (1918-1937). In this period, ideologies of 'race' and white supremacy emerged in European thought, which promoted an ethnocentric, western model of humanism (Davis 1997). During

this period, many imperialism-oriented expos were staged, where non-European 'racial' and ethnic groups, mainly Africans and Asians, showed evidence of their 'modernisation' process in cultural displays. Olympism, ideologically linked with the racially exclusive European humanism of that time, was distorted in practice towards the interests of the 'modern' and 'advanced' western nations and empires. As discussed before, Coubertin's references to racial characteristics of the Asians (such as endurance, tenacity, patience and racial flexibility) (Coubertin 1931e) and the Africans ('individual laziness', 'a thousand jealousies of the white man', 'the conflict between wishing to submit to discipline and to escape from it') (Coubertin 1997e) share common characteristics with the philosophy of Social Darwinism. Besides, his frequent paternalistic references which cast the West in the role of 'civilising force', and assumed 'racial' and 'temperamental' superiority of Westerners, have provided evidence that the movement had retained ethnocentric and racist attitudes, similar to those adopted by the US and European imperial powers.

Looking at Coubertin's view that indigenous sporting cultures were 'peripheral', merely for 'entertainment and recreation', whereas the western, 'modern' sporting model provided the only efficient system that could lead to competitive sport performances, evidence of cultural imperialism is provided again. In addition, unlike many colonials who were against the organisation and development of regional modern sport (through initiatives such as the African Games) fearing that their victory could lead to rebellion, Coubertin always encouraged them to spread sport among the colonised. His ultimate motive was related again to European interests.

It can be argued that Diem had also adopted a Euro-centric view, supporting the view that the modern Olympic Games are a "manifestation of the western, European culture which now dominates the world", just as the ancient Games had been a manifestation of classical culture (Diem 1933a: lines 2 – 14). Moreover, as discussed earlier in the thesis, the post-Second World period witnessed the end of the colonial system and the emergence of newly independent states from the former colonial areas of Asia and Africa. Diem, providing evidence of paternalism, had emphasised that that the newly independent nations should be 'taught' the principles of modern sport by the West. In addition, he considered indigenous local sport cultures to be 'traditional recreations', and suggested that the IOC should decide which of these traditions should finally be incorporated in (the margins of) the Olympic programme.

As indicated earlier in the thesis, Diem's paternalistic references in the era of neo-colonialism resemble Coubertin's paternalistic references in the era of late colonialism, which in both cases may be associated with the emerging opposition for the adoption of a more democratic IOC policy (Alternative Games, GANEFO Games).

Interestingly, the establishment of the IOA at the historic site of the ancient Olympia may also be linked with European, particularly German, interests. First and foremost, Diem emphasised that Olympia should be the venue of the academy, as the students "will enjoy the treasures of the spirit, for which old Hellas was a focal point — the focal point whence western culture was created (Diem 1942g: lines 26 - 35, emphasis added)". However, Diem's Euro-centric perspective should also be examined in relation to his particular German interests. As illustrated previously in the thesis, Philhellenism had been a strong intellectual trend in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which many German intellectuals had also embraced. Diem, who wished to see Germany regaining its past glory in the post-Nazi period, saw in the occasion of archaeological excavations in Olympia, and the establishment of an International Olympic Academy, a great opportunity to continue the legacy of the German intellectuals such as Curtius, Winckelmann and Goethe, who through their Hellenist interpretations, developed Germany's aesthetic and intellectual production following the example of Greece, the 'highest example' of western culture. Moreover, Diem, in the name of Olympia, found an opportunity to establish himself as Coubertin's successor in the modern Olympic Movement by putting into practice one of Coubertin's most ambitious plans, the establishment of an educational centre for the dissemination of the Olympic values.

Discussions about practices of cultural imperialism within the Olympic Movement were accommodated in several IOA Sessions, particularly in the 1990s. Western lecturers (Landry 1985; Barney 1993; Donnelly 1995) and non-western (Lalaoui 1993) expressed the view that the Olympic Movement had for long been Euro-centric, and highlighted: a) the problematic dissemination of Olympism and its values in non-European, non-western cultures, b) the marginalisation of the regional cultural (sport) identities, and c) the monopolisation of western interests which increased the economic differences between the core and periphery. However, the fact that agents of the Olympic Movement criticise the movement for its western-

centric practices has provided evidence that the Olympic Movement has moved toward a more pluralist dimension tied up with complex processes in the dissemination of Olympism, and thus cultural imperialism may not provide adequate explanations to describe processes that have taken place in the more recent history of the Olympic Movement. Besides, while some ex-colonies rejected the imperial culture during decolonisation, most adapted it later to their own cultural ethos. It may be argued that, although, during imperialism, modern sport was imposed on indigenous populations, in the post-imperial era ex-colonies used modern games such as cricket as a means to enhance and foster nationalist feelings and racial pride (St. Pierre 1990; cited in Houlihan 1994b: 17-18). In the light of the above, and also embracing the view that the transition of cultural products should be considered as a two-way process in which the recipients may have interpretative and resistant powers, we will draw arguments from the 'family' of globalisation theories in order to provide a multi-causal evaluation of the expression of values associated with Olympism across time.

8.3.3 Globalisation Theories

While cultural imperialism is unidirectional and accepts the view that the major force in the development of globalisation is western capitalism, leading to the dominance of a western consumer culture, the broader set of globalisation theories takes into account many more directions and dimensions of globalisation processes. Many scholars have challenged the notion of cultural imperialism and argued that globalisation forces in the contemporary world have contributed to the emergence of a 'global culture', which is essentially trans-national or a-national (Featherstone 1990; King 1990; Robertson 1990; Wagner 1990). The author would agree that the cultural imperialism thesis is inadequate in its explanation of the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism.

The era of what might be termed 'mature modernity' (the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), as seen in Chapter 5 and part of Chapter 6, witnessed the emergence of mega-events such as the Olympic Games and Expos which were influential forces in the history of modern international culture in general. The Olympic Games, in the pre-television era, had become one of the main vehicles of

cultural globalisation in terms of the exchange, transfer and diffusion of values, images and information. With respect to the space-time structure of global society, the Olympic Games (and other large-scale public events) have helped to shape the (social) space and time dimensions of modernity at the national and international levels. In terms of space, the Olympic Games identified a particular urban and national space within the national, international and global space of tourism and the consumer market. In terms of the temporal dimension, they offered the periodic cycle of an 'Olympiad' as a symbolic and real time channel, which, in a world compressed by time and space, created distance and space. Moreover, they provided the community with the opportunity to experience and be part of something dramatic and ritual, as opposed to the excessive rationality of the emerging capitalist industrial state (Roche 2000).

Moreover, in this modernist era, as discussed earlier in Chapter 5, the rapidity of communication, the complexity of modern commerce and the interdependencies it created stimulated confidence and optimism in people about international harmony. Technological advances and scientific inventions such as the railway and global telegraphy accelerated the pace of globalisation, which, as Robertson (1992) argues, precedes modernity. Olympism emerged in this 'age of optimism' (together with other 'idealistic internationalisms' such as the Esperanto movement, the Red Cross and the Scouting movement) as a philosophy, which proclaimed the establishment of global peace, solidarity and fraternity. However, although Olympism reflected 'modern' values such as non-religious/ secular values, ideologies and principles mainly associated with western rational thought and universal humanism, it also reflected pre-modern values of Hellenic civilisation and the Middle Ages ('chivalry'). Roche (2000) argues that "precisely because of their 'modernity', and because of the reflexivity this implies, mega-events also necessarily contain and/or refer to some non-modern ('pre' and 'post' modern) dimensions" (p. 9).

The growing trends of internationalism and cosmopolitanism were also influential forces for the shaping of Olympism. However, while cosmopolitanism mostly referred to the formation of a 'cosmopolis' or a world state and it carried the potential of cultural homogenisation and the elimination of national identities, internationalism was, by contrast, the recognition and celebration of cultural diversity. Olympism on the one hand proclaims that the Olympic Games is an international event which

extends beyond national boundaries and interests. However, on the other hand it provides the host nation with the opportunity to play a more powerful role than guest nations (Olympic Games as 'supernational'). As seen in Chapter 6, the outstanding example of Olympic 'supernationalism' was when Germany was given the opportunity to emphasise its claims to having a leading status and mission in the world international order by hosting the Olympic Games in Berlin (1936).

In order to illustrate the complex processes within globalisation and show the fluidity of the contemporary world as seen through globalisation, some authors have developed an understanding of globalisation processes in terms of flows. As discussed earlier (section 2.4.1), Appadurai (1996) has identified five inter-related 'scapes that show the various directions to such global flows: 'ethnoscapes' – the transporting and constantly moving landscape of immigrants, refugees, tourists and commuters; 'technoscapes' – the fast changing landscape of technology and information across the globe; 'finanscapes' – a global system of financial exchanges, monetary shifts and economic innovations; 'mediascapes' – travelling images around the world; and 'ideoscapes' – the political and strategic diffusion of values by states and oppositional movements (Appadurai 1996). Hannerz (1990) also identifies four distinct cultural flows, which can be instructive in understanding the articulation of values associated with the ideology of Olympism in late or high modernity (Diagram 8.1).

The first flow refers to cultural commodities, which move within a market framework, and would include the interests in the Olympic Games of the media, the advertising agencies and consumer goods manufacturers. Although the Olympic Games in mature modernity diffused values, images and information and became important vehicles for the creation of a global culture, in the late twentieth century they have truly become a 'media event' (Roche 2000). The Olympic Games developed in parallel with the development of different forms of mass media, from the mass distribution of photographs in the late nineteenth century, to TV in the post-war period. This has led event organisers to be interested in advertising the Olympic Games, and/or political propaganda associated with the event, through media images. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics was a turning point in that they showed the extent to which the American TV networks were prepared to go in order to acquire the rights of transmitting the Games. Since then, at least a third of total income of

the event comes from media companies' payments for the rights to broadcast the Games. The advent of the Games as a global media event provides explanations about the rise of commercialism and professionalism in the recent Olympic history. The 'amateur' ideal underpinning Olympic sport has gone before long, whereas commercial gain in the meaning of Olympism has been introduced. Moreover, the 'mediatisation' of the Olympics has been criticised for contributing to the rise of competitive nationalisms and also for carrying the potential for cultural homogenisation and manipulation of the Olympics by the western (mostly American) interests.

The second cultural flow concerns the state and its actions toward the shaping of a national identity, as distinct from that of other nations. As seen earlier in the thesis, during the twentieth century many new independent states emerged, which were faced with the issue of establishing a sense of national identity. Former colonies saw sport as a vehicle for nation-building and while some ex-colonies rejected the imposed sporting tradition of the imperial power, most adapted it to the cultural ethos of the new state (e.g. cricket tradition in West Indies). The African ex-colonies, for example, identified in the issue of apartheid a common key issue of foreign policy, on which black African states could take an international lead (Houlihan 1994b). The most outstanding example of use of sport as a contribution to establishing a sense of national identity took place during the Cold War period, when the GDR and the Soviet Union systematically used sport to develop a form of socialist nationalism.

The third cultural flow concerns the development of cultural individuality and autonomy as a result of 'habitual perspectives and dispositions' developed as a part of everyday life (Hannerz 1990: 114). This raises questions about the impact of global discourses on local cultures, and the apparent capacity of local cultures to resist to foreign elements or adapt them to the local context. Hall (1990) points out that for some theorists globalisation results in homogenisation and that cultural autonomy is hard to achieve as cultures are subject to American-led westernisation. As seen earlier, it may be argued that during the years of colonialism there was not much space given to local cultures to resist to the imperial sporting tradition. However, other scholars argue that non-western cultures are not passive or

submissive recipients of external cultural forms, but they engage in making their own syntheses of the global and local¹ (Robertson 1990; Hannerz 1990). However, while the adaptation of a global culture to a local context might provide evidence of a dialectic relationship between the global and the local, it may also provide evidence of deeper ideological forces. Thus, as Houlihan (1994b) argues “while a medal at the Olympics for Cuba may superficially enhance the status of Cuban socialism, at a deeper level it confirms the achievement principle, specialisation, professionalisation and a series of other values more in tune with the consumerism of the West” (p. 183). In similar vein, Asian countries dominate in sports of European-origin such as archery, badminton and tennis, while many European countries are strong in Asian-origin sports, such as judo. However the fact that the Olympic programme is dominated by western sport traditions provides evidence that the local sport traditions have been marginalised to a great extent.

The fourth cultural flow refers to a series of ‘movements’, such as the Worker’s movement, the Women’s movement, environmentalism and the peace movement, which periodically emerge and have an impact on popular imagination. As seen earlier in the thesis, after the First World War European socialists became internationalists in their outlook and organised a series of Olympic-like events, which were opposed to the elitism, nationalism, and sensationalism of the type of sport promoted by the Olympics. Women’s response to the exclusionary attitude of the Olympics was similar to that of the working-class and socialist organisations. They resisted by forming their own international association and hosting their own *Women’s World Games*. A response to gigantism and the negative environmental impact of the Games was evident in local communities’ protests against environmental abuse in the staging of the 1992 Winter Games in Albertville, and this led to demands for the promotion of a sustainable development by the Olympic Movement. Such movements challenged the meaning of Olympism and exercised pressure for the integration of new values that were significant for the popularity and public acceptance of the philosophy. The survival of the movement was, to a degree, reliant on its capacity to handle and respond to the new global demands, often expressed through emerging movements. Notwithstanding paradoxes and

¹ Hannerz (1990) suggests that the concept of ‘creolisation’ constitutes a more appropriate term to describe the complexities of the interaction between the local and global (p. 127).

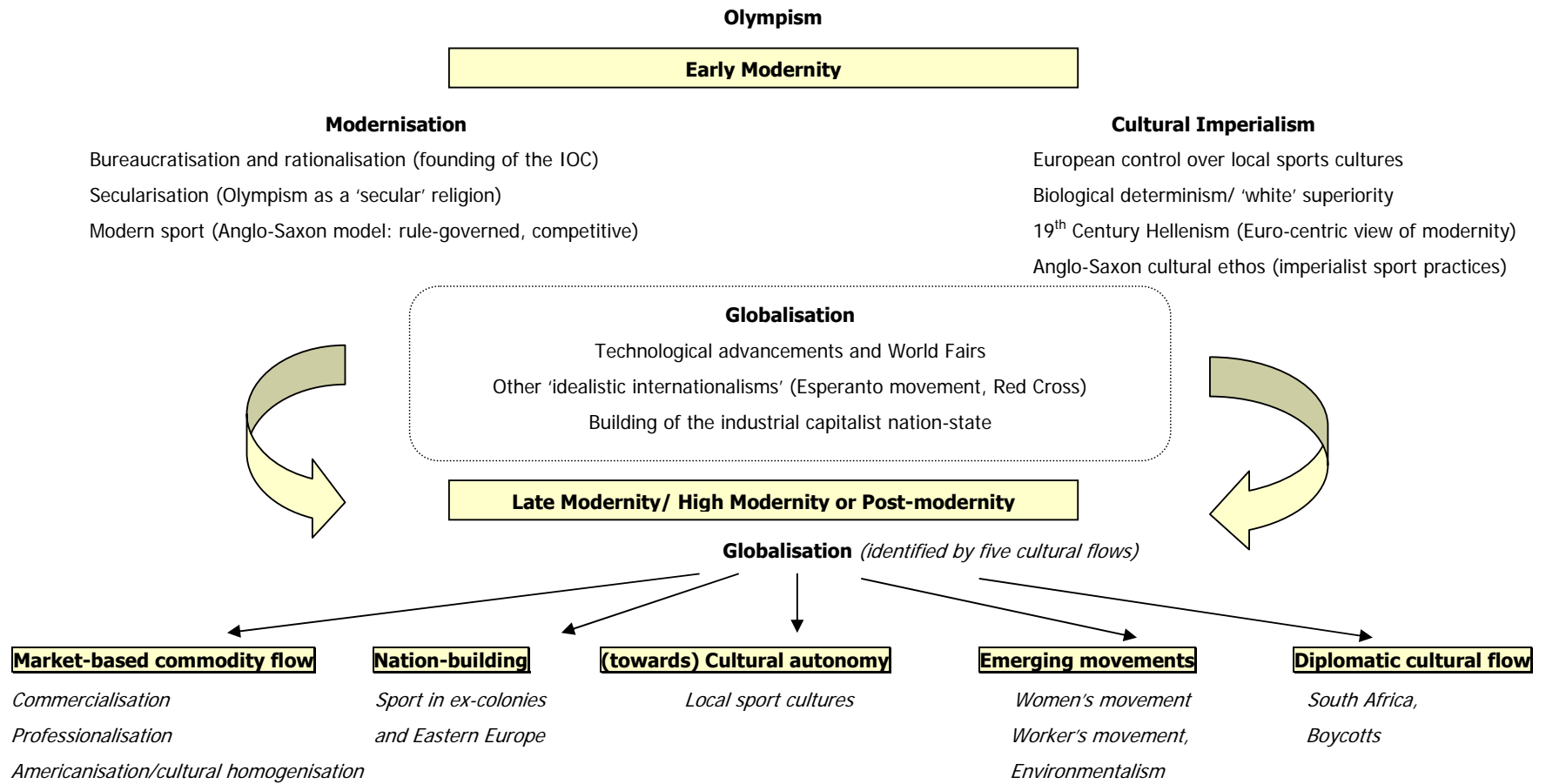
inconsistencies between the values incorporated in the Olympic Charter and its practices, the success of the Olympic Movement in overcoming challenges raised by several social/ political movements and in adapting the meaning of Olympism (sooner or later) in response to such opposition should be recognised as an important factor in the establishment of the Olympics as a dominant culture in international sport.

Houlihan (1994b) suggests that a fifth cultural flow should be incorporated in Hannerz's typology of flows. He argues that, as an international system joins the states together, it is important to take into account the cultural elements of the discourse between the states. The significance of the 'diplomatic cultural flow' is evident in the use of sport as a tool of foreign policy. Houlihan's analysis provides support that especially in the post-war period the Olympic Movement has been connected with major international political issues. These include the Cold War struggle between the communist and capitalist blocs, and also the historic worldwide struggle against institutionalised racism in South Africa. Such flows also help to explain the transition of the Olympic Movement from a (supposedly) non-political movement to an important player in global governance.

Overall, these five cultural flows demonstrate that globalisation may influence a culture along several distinctive dimensions, and thus the processes involved in the establishment and dissemination of Olympism are too complex to be reduced to the unidirectional perspectives of modernisation or cultural imperialism. Instead, a multi-causal approach, which takes into account the association of Olympism and of the Olympic Movement with contemporary globalisation processes and the form of society and governance they are generating, provides a more adequate explanation about the changing nature of the ideology of Olympism across time. However, to paint the picture of the Olympic Movement and its central philosophy, having moved from the certainties of a modernist philosophy organised around the unitary thinking of Coubertin through the stresses and strains placed on that philosophy by two World Wars, to a post-modern *fin de siècle* characterised by fragmentation in world politics and in the central movement of the Olympics, would be a naïve and simplistic exercise. Coubertin's network of ideas wound into a framework characterised as 'Olympism' at the beginning of the 20th century is in many ways as fragmented,

inconsistent and subject to challenge as the platform of ideas rehearsed by speakers at the end of the 20th century.

Figure 8.1. Olympism in early and late modernity



8.4 Is Olympism a Vacuous Philosophy?

The contested, inconsistent and fragmented nature of Olympism throughout the modern history of the Olympic Movement has obviously raised the question whether it is indeed a vacuous philosophy. Several discussions whether it is a philosophy, an ideology or even a religion also demonstrate its ambiguous nature (Heinz-Roesch 1979; Moltmann 1980). Its inherent contradictions and paradoxes in combination with the lack of a clear and specific definition have provided the ground for some to claim that it is "in a sense as a metaphoric empty flask to be filled by the next political, economic, educational opportunist" (Wamsley 2004: 232). For instance, it may be hard for the supporters of Olympism to provide an adequate explanation about the reasons why Hitler's values found an expression in the philosophy of Olympism. What is central in the Olympic Movement, and its core philosophy of Olympism, is that although it promotes an international political agenda, at the same time it denies its involvement in politics, which in effect it enables it to set standards in relation to the behaviour of host cities but also to operate a policy of inequality with regard to the IOC membership. Such inherently contradictory policies may inevitably enable other organisations to exploit its ambiguities. Thus, as Houlihan (1994b) argues, this ambiguity has justified non-intervention of governments to resist the authoritarianism evident in 1936 and 1968 Mexico Olympic Games, yet it has also allowed nations to boycott the Montreal Games on the premise that New Zealand was accepted when a New Zealand cricket team had agreed to play cricket against South Africa. Thus, he emphasised that "the Olympics therefore provide a conveniently adaptable context for furthering of interests" (Houlihan 1994b: 111).

In relation to the conduct of the Games many criticisms have been made about the dehumanising aspects of competition for the sake of spectacle, proliferation and nationalist exposure, which stand in sharp contrast to the values of 'harmonious development' and 'preservation of human dignity'. Interestingly, the idealistic meanings and values distinctive of the Olympic sport worldview are largely internationalist rather than nationalist, and while the 'amateur' anti-commercial vision of sport has long gone, there remains the idealistic 'lack of interest' to commercial profits in the meaning of Olympism. However, on both these issues the Olympic Games can be argued to have become disassociated from these values and even to

be undermining them (Roche 2000). Undoubtedly, the major paradox is whether the nature of the modern Olympic Games, which has been transformed to a multi-billion dollar global business, may continue to constitute an appropriate vehicle for the transmission of the higher ideals that Olympism has espoused (Hoberman 1992; Lenskyj 2000; Milton-Smith 2002; Wamsley and Hein 1996; Tomlinson 2004). Hoberman's condemnation of the Olympic Movement for prioritising the maximisation of participation rather than the values marshalled in the Olympic Charter carries considerable weight (1986). Moreover, the Euro-centric character of the Olympic organisation is evident in the promotion of a single sporting model. The history of the Olympic Movement is replete with examples of 'assimilation' to this single 'universal' model, e.g. Women's, Worker's, communist movements, and partial assimilation of the paralympic movement (though this is still successfully resisted by the International Paralympic Association, IPA) (Schantz 2004). There are some examples of interculturalism, e.g. the incorporation of judo and *tae kwon do* into the Games. There is also one recent example of a recognition of the need for 'separate development' in the case of the *Islamic Countries Women's Sport Games* (Henry 2005).

However, to conclude that Olympism has now become an apologetic myth to counterbalance the materialistic and excessive nature of the Olympic Games would be a simplistic and unidirectional assumption. We need, then, to consider two key questions. First, what is the contribution of Olympism to the mega event of the Olympic Games today? Second, how can Olympism deal with the culturally diverse context of the Olympic Movement? Addressing each of these questions offers different but related ways on reflecting of, and working toward, the achievement of a link between the theoretical foundations of the philosophy and the practical application of its values in the context of the Olympics today.

In answer to the first question, some might argue that Olympism may not really need the Olympic Games or that it would be much more honest if the Olympic Games continued without Olympism (Wamsley 2004). Nonetheless, the Olympic Movement, which, as mentioned earlier, consists of the IOC, the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games (OCOGs), the NOCs, the IFs, the national associations, clubs and, of course, the athletes (IOC 2005), has developed a global network through which the values of Olympism are disseminated not only through

the conduct of the Olympic Games, but also by the organisation of Olympic education programmes, including the IOA and the NOAs, as well as by the establishment of the global sports development programme of Olympic Solidarity. With reference to the second question, it is true that Olympic sport has promoted values which might be different from those in recipient cultures, and thus to achieve a uniform or standardised interpretation of the practice of sport, which may be perceived as cultural imperialism when imposed in a 'top down' dimension, becomes problematic. However, in defence of Olympism, Parry (2004), as discussed earlier (see also 7.2.2), has attempted to provide an explanation for the differing interpretations of Olympism in varying cultural contexts through his understanding of Rawl's distinction between 'concepts' and 'conceptions', to support his argument that Olympism does not undermine multiculturalism. Thus, what Parry (2004) and Henry (2005) argue for, is a broadly humanistic expression of shared values in sport, developed through negotiated consensus, which agrees on broad statements of values, and nevertheless may be interpreted differently in different socio-political contexts. Essentially, if the IOC decided to emphasise integrating rather than assimilatory cultural policies and continued to reinforce pluralist rather than ethnocentric visions of Olympism, there would be better chances for Olympism to be more inclusive and less fragmented.

Thus, in answer to the initial question, the author wishes to agree that Olympism is *not* a vacuous philosophy and not because its values still remain necessary ingredients of a successful marketing strategy for the sake of the Olympic business. Notwithstanding its inherent contradictions and paradoxes, its humanist ideals have still much to offer in the global cultural space of the Olympic Movement including the Olympics, one of the biggest mega events of modern times, which may still have the potential to act as a forum for alternative worldviews and epistemologies.

8.5 Contribution to Knowledge and Implications to Future Research

This study has contributed to the debate around the changing nature of Olympism and the values associated with this ideology. It examined the emergence, development and expansion of Olympism in the discourse of the modern Olympic Movement and demonstrated how the values associated with the ideology have changed against the contemporaneous geopolitical, social and economic contexts. Values such as amateurism and women's exclusion have now been considered outdated, whereas new values such as environmentalism (DaCosta 1997) or gender equality in leadership and participation (Henry *et al.* 2004) have been incorporated in the Olympic agenda.

As evidenced in correspondence, publications, speeches and personal records of Baron Pierre de Coubertin and Carl Diem, as well as in lectures of guest speakers of the IOA, motives, interests and intentions have been associated with the promotion of Olympism in the modern era. The research showed that Olympism has always had a political agenda, which although neglected by the IOC, has determined its synthesis and scope. In the early years, this is particularly obvious in the selection of Hellenism and Anglo-Saxon cultural ethos as sources of inspiration for Olympism's higher ideals to ensure the popularity and support of the powerful ruling class of Europe. In more recent years, Olympism's political agenda is evident in the post-Second World War recognition of NOCs, which transformed the IOC's role as a key player in the governance of the global cultural-political system.

This study has also illustrated how the nature of Olympism has been a contested one, full of inconsistencies and paradoxes throughout the modern history of the Olympic Movement. The ideals of universalism, multiculturalism and equality have been undermined by elitist, racist and ethnocentric references of the key players of the Olympic Movement and several practices evident in the Olympic Games such as doping, commercialisation and professionalisation. Moreover, the ideal of internationalism has, to a degree, been subverted by the national structure of the Olympic Games and the projection of nationalist values, evident from the early years of the movement, has become even more strongly associated with the fabric of the Games during the last four decades. As shown earlier, in the case of Carl Diem, such a tension between internationalism and nationalism is even more evident, given the

fact that he collaborated with the Nazis in the most controversial and perhaps most nationalistic Olympics. Another finding of the research is that Olympism, which was considered a static and closed philosophy, has gradually been transformed to a more open network of ideas accommodating a degree of pluralist vision, and critique, with reference to its values. Although this may be interpreted as fragmentation in the culturally diverse context of the Olympic Movement, it may also be described in terms of the 'flexibility' of Olympism and its capacity to constitute a terrain for exchange of different worldviews and ideas.

The findings of this study should be considered within the broader research context, in which Olympism and the Olympic Movement are subject to critical analyses. Academic scholarship has been responsible to a certain degree for raising the issues of race, gender, ethnicity, and corrupt materialistic practices in the Olympic context. While this study has sought to provide an adequate account of knowledge in relation to the changing nature of Olympism during one hundred and eleven years, further studies are required in order to paint a more complete picture of Olympism in the contemporary era in relation to these separate dimensions. This study analysed the changing nature of Olympism drawing on data from 1887 to 1998. Future studies may continue the analysis of data in the twenty-first century, taking into account, for example, the Salt-Lake City scandal and the reforms that it has necessitated. A significant issue for future research is the current place of the Olympics in the political and economic ordering of the world in the beginning of the new millennium.

Another significant research would be discovering ways and finding solutions in achieving a shared and negotiated consensus in the name of Olympism and its value of multiculturalism, given the forces of globalisation for homogenisation and fragmentation. Additionally, given the lack of a single definition of Olympism, a study of the ideological components of Olympism may provide a richer source of analysis of the nature of the philosophy. A relevant study about whether Olympism is a philosophy, an ideology or a religion may reveal further dimensions in relation to the interests and motives associated with the promotion of its values. Furthermore, if the study were to be expanded to examine the changing nature of the Olympic Games at all times, the ancient Olympics would generate different themes of analysis and it would be interesting to evaluate the continuities and discontinuities of values associated with the Olympic Games in ancient and modern times.

Having highlighted the culturally diverse meanings and values associated with Olympic sport in the contemporary world, we concur with the conclusion that one of the key challenges facing those who value Olympism in a multicultural and multipolar world, is the construction of consensus around its values. This construction can only be achieved by the development of opportunities for discourse between the various parties/ stakeholders involved, and should be seen as a process rather than an outcome since, as the last century of Olympism has illustrated, one of the few 'constants' on which one can rely is change. Olympism as an 'ideal' may in such circumstances be defined, not as a set of immutable values, but as a process for consensus construction in terms of values in the world of global sport.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- AGENDA 21. Available: www.olympic.org [Accessed: 15/01/2005].
- ABE, I. and MANGAN, J.A., 1997. The British impact on boys' sports and games in Japan: an. *International journal of the history of sport*, **14**(2), pp. 187-199.
- ABERCOMBIE N., H., S., AND TURNER B.S., 2000. The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology. London, England: Penguin Books.
- ALLISON, L., 1994. Sport for the Best, Not All. *Guardian*, p. 24
- AL-TAUQI, M., 2003. *Olympic Solidarity: Global Order, the Diffusion of Modern Sport and the Hegemony of the Olympic Movement*, Loughborough University Editor.
- ALTHEIDE, D.L., 1996. Qualitative Media Analysis. California, USA: Sage.
- ALTHUSSER, L., 1969. For Marx. London: Allen Lane.
- AMARA, M., AL-TAUQI, M. and HENRY, I.P., 2003. Sport, Arab Nationalism and the Pan Arab Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **38**(3), pp. 295-310.
- AN, M., 1992. The Golf Boom in South Korea: Serving Hegemonic Interests. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **9**(4), pp. 372-384.
- ANDERSON, B., 1991. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ANDERSON, S., 1993. Welfare Policy and Politics in Japan: beyond the developmental state. New York: Paragon House.
- ANDRECS, H., 1973. The Olympic Idea and its Realization in Schools, *International Olympic Academy: 13th Young Participants Session, 1973*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 180-189.
- ANTHONY, D., 1992. The Propagation of Olympic Education as a Weapon Against the Corruption and Commercialization of World-wide Sport, *International Olympic Academy: 32nd Young Participants Session, 1992*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 157-164.
- ANTHONY, D., 1994. The Humanistic Mission of the Olympic Movement and the Role of Olympic Solidarity in the Developing Countries, *34th Session of Young Participants in the International Olympic Academy, 18th July-2nd August 1994* International Olympic Academy.
- APPADURAI, A., 1990. Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. In: M. FEATHERSTONE, ed, *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage.

- APPADURAI, A. and ALBROW, M., 1996. Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. *The American journal of sociology*, **103**(5), p. 1411.
- ARBENA, J., 1988. Sport and Society in Latin America: Diffusion, Dependency, and the rise of Mass Culture. London: Greenwood Press.
- ARNAUD, P., 1998. Sports - a means of national representation. In: P.A.A.J. RIORDAN, ed, *Sport and International Politics. The impact of fascism and communism on sport*. London: E & FN SPON.
- ARNOLD, P.J., 1996. Olympism, Sport and Education. *Quest*, **48**, pp. 93-101.
- ASGARY, N. and WALLE, A.H., 2002. The Cultural Impact of Globalisation: Economic Activity and Social Change. *Cross Cultural Management*, **9**(3), pp. 58-75.
- AXFORD, B., 1996. The Global System: Economics, Politics and Culture. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- BALE, J., CHRISTENSEN, M.K. and CHRISTENSEN, M.K., 2004. Global Sport Cultures; Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twentieth-first Century. Oxford: Berg.
- BARNEY, R.K., 1993. Golden Egg or Fool's Gold? American Olympic Commercialism and the IOC, *International Olympic Academy: 33rd Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 123-133.
- BENZERTI, K., 2002. OLYMPISM IN AFRICA.
Available: www.sport.gov.gr/2/24/243/2431/24312/e243123.html [Accessed: 23/5/2003]
- BERNSTEIN, A., 2000. Things you can see from there you can't see from here. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, **24**(4), pp. 351-369.
- BHASKAR, R., 1993. Dialectic: The Pulse of Freedom. London: Verso.
- BIRRELL, S. and COLE, C., 1994. Women, Sport and Culture. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics
- BLAIKIE, N., 1993. Approaches to Social Inquiry. Cambridge: Polity.
- BOOTH, D., 2004. Post-Olympism? Questioning Olympic Historiography. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 13-32.
- BOOTH, D. and C., T., 1994. Swimming with the Big Boys: The Politics of Sydney's 2000 Olympic Bid. *Sporting Traditions*, **11**(1), pp. 3-23.
- BOSWELL, C., 2003. European Migration Policies in Flux: changing patterns of inclusion and exclusion. Oxford: Blackwell.

- BOULOGNE, Y.P., 2000. Pierre de Coubertin and Women's Sport. *Olympic Review*, **February-March**, pp. 23-26.
- BOULOGNE, Y.P., 1999. Pierre de Coubertin. Humanism et Pédagogie: Dix Leçons sur L'Olympisme. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.
- BOURDIEU, P., 1988. Program for a Sociology of Sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **5**, pp. 153-161.
- BOURDIEU, P., 1978. Sport and Social Class Information. *Social Science Information*, **17**(6), pp. 819-840.
- BOURDIEU, P., 1972. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOWEN, J., 1989. Education, Ideology and the Ruling Class: Hellenism and English Public Schools in the Nineteenth Century. In: G.W. CLARKE, ed, *Rediscovering Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 161-186.
- BROHM, J.M., 1978. Sport: a Prison of Measured Time. London: Ink Links.
- BROWN, D., 2004. Post-Olympism: Olympic Legacies, Sport Spaces and the Practices of Everyday Life. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 99-118.
- BRUNDAGE, A., 1963. The Olympic Philosophy, *International Olympic Academy: 3rd Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 29-39.
- BRYMAN, A., 2001. Social Research Methods. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BUSCH, A., 2000. Unpacking the Globalization Debate: Approaches, Evidence and Data. In: C. HAY and D. MARSH, eds, *Demystifying Globalization*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave in association with POLSIS, University of Birmingham.
- CARRINGTON, B., 2004. Cosmopolitan Olympism, Humanism and Spectacle of 'Race'. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 81-98.
- CASHMAN, R., 2004. The Future of a Multi-Sport Mega Event: Is there a Pace for the Olympic Games in a 'Post-Olympic' World? In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 119-134.
- CHETLEY, J., 1979. The Baby Milk Scandal. London: War on Want.
- CLARKE, J., CRITCHER, C., & JOHNSON, R., 1979. Working class cultures: Theory and History. London: Hutchinson.

- CLARKE, K., 1988. Olympism at the Beginning and at the End of the Twentieth Century - Immutable Values and Outdated Factors, *International Olympic Academy: 28th Young Participants Session*, 1988, International Olympic Academy, pp. 99-104.
- CLARKE, A., 1999. Evaluation Research: an Introduction to Principles, Methods and Practice. London: Sage.
- COAKLEY, J., 1992. Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies. St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby.
- COHEN, B.J., ed, 1978. *Organizing the world's money :the political economy of international monetary relations*. London: Macmillan.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997a. The 1921 Maneuver. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 486-491.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997b. The 20th Anniversary Of The Olympic Games (Paris 1914). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 458-464.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997d. Budapest (1911). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 431-435.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997e. The Capitol In Rome (1923). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 495-499.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997f. The Conquest of Greece. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 321-325.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997h. The Fifth Olympiad (Stockholm 1912). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 435-441.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997i. The First Olympiad (Athens 1896). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 321-325.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997j. The Four War Years (1914-1918). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 464-468.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997l. The Inclusion Of Literature And The Arts. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 620-622.

- COUBERTIN, P., 1997n. Legends. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 747-749.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997p. The Olympic Congress At Le Havre (1897). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 369-372.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997q. The Paris Congress And the Revival Of The Olympic Games. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 313-320.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1997t. The Seventh Olympiad (Antwerp 1920). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 471-476.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1976. The Unfinished Symphony. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 751-753.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1938. The Origins and Limits of Athletic Progress. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 195-202.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1936b. Message To The Olympia-Berlin Runners. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 578-579.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1935a. The Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 580-583.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1934a. Forty Years Of Olympism. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 742-746.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1934d. To My Hellenic Friends. An Open Letter Dated April, 1934. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 278.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1932b. The Apotheosis Of Olympism. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 517-518.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1931a. Athletic Colonization. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 703-704.

- COUBERTIN, P., 1931c. New Mottoes. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 591-593.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1931d. The Olympic Games And Gymnastics. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 716-718.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1931e. Olympic Memoirs. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1929. Olympia. Lecture Given In Paris, In The Festival Hall Of The 19th Arrondissement Town Hall. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 563-576.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1928b. Educational Use of Athletic Activity. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 184-194.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1928c. Message To All Athletes And Participants Meeting At Amsterdam For The Ninth Olympiad. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 603-604.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1927c. The Truth About Sport: The Ideas of Pierre de Coubertin. An Open Letter to Frantz-Reichel. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 235-236.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1923. Athletics Want To Conquer Africa. An Appeal From The President Of The IOC. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 702.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1922. Between Two Battles. From Olympism to the Popular University. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 203-209.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1920a. Address Delivered at Antwerp City Hall in August, 1920: Sport is King. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 222-226.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1919a. Letter To The Members Of The International Olympic Committee (January, 1919). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 737-741.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1919c. Olympic Letter XI: The Sporting Spirit of Students. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 172-173.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1919e. Olympic Letter XIII: The Periodicity Of The Olympic Games. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 550.

- COUBERTIN, P., 1919m. Olympic Letter XXI: The Pershing Olympiad. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 551.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1919n. The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Of The Proclamation Of The Olympic Games. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 551-553.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1918c. Olympic Letter III: Olympism And Education. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 547-548.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1918g. Olympic Letter VI: Panem et Circenses. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 220.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1918j. What We Can Ask Of Sport. Address Given To The Greek Liberal Club Of Lausanne, February 24, 1918. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 269-277.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1913e. An Olympiad In The Far East. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 695-697.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1912b. Closing Words (Stockholm 1912). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 448.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1912d. Ode To Sport. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 629-630.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1912f. The Women At The Olympic Games. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 711-713.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1908b. To The Editor Of The Times: The Olympic Games (July 13, 1908). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 735-736.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1908d. Why I Revived The Olympic Games. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 542-546.
- COUBERTIN, P., 1906h. The Philhellene's Duty. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 250.

COUBERTIN, P., 1902. The Charter Of Amateurism. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 635-638.

COUBERTIN, P., 1900a. Father Didon. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 210-211.

COUBERTIN, P., 1896b. The Modern Olympic Games. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 308-311.

COUBERTIN, P., 1896c. The Olympic Games Of 1896. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 350-360.

COUBERTIN, P., 1894c. The Congress of Paris. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 298-299.

COUBERTIN, P., 1894d. The Neo-Olympism. Appeal To The People Of Athens (November 16, 1894). Lecture Given To The Parnassus Literary Society At Athens. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 533-541.

COUBERTIN, P., 1892. Physical Exercises In The Modern World. Lecture Given At The Sorbonne (November 1892). In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 287-297.

COUBERTIN, P., 1890b. Athletics and Gymnastics. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 138-140.

COUBERTIN, P., 1890g. The Olympic Games At Much Wenlock - A Page From The History Of Athletics: What Do You Make of Much Wenlock? In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 281-286.

COUBERTIN, P., 1889a. Athletic Education. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 121-133.

COUBERTIN, P., 1889b. The Cure for Overworking. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 61-68.

COUBERTIN, P., 1889d. Our Students. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 69-74.

COUBERTIN, P., 1888b. Letter to the Members of the Société de' Économie Sociale and of the Unions de la Paix Sociale. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 75-77.

COUBERTIN, P., 1887. English Education. In: N. MÜLLER, ed, *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 - Olympism: Selected Writings*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, pp. 105-120.

COX, R.W., 1996. A Perspective on Globalization. In: J.H. MITTELMAN, ed, *Globalization: Critical Reflections*. Boulder: CO: Lynne Rienner.

CUFF, E.C., SHARROCK, W. W., AND FRANCIS,D.W., 1998. Perspectives in Sociology. London: Routledge.

CULPIN, C., 1996. Making History: World History from 1914 to the Present. London: Collins Educational.

DACOSTA, L., 1997. The Olympic Movement Today and Environmental Protection, *International Olympic Academy: 37th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 100-106.

DACOSTA, L., 2002. Olympic Studies: Current Intellectual Crossroads. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Gama Filho.

DARBY, P., 2001. The European Sports History Review; The New Scramble for Africa: The African Football. London: Frank Cass.

DAVIES, T., 1997. Humanism. London: Routledge.

DEFRAZANTZ, A., 1989. Olympic Movement: Youth and Doping, *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 106-111.

DENZIN, N.K.,AND LINCOLN, Y.S., 1998. Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials. London: Sage Publications.

DIEM, C., 1961a. An 'Elis' of Our Time. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 113-118.

DIEM, C., 1961b. The Final Clearance of the Stadium. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 118-119.

DIEM, C., 1960b. The Balance Sheet of the Rome Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 104-109.

DIEM, C., 1957a. Criticism and Thanks. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 93-98.

DIEM, C., 1957c. From A Letter to Eduard Spranger. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 110.

- DIEM, C., 1957d. From the Appeal of the German Sports Federation for the 'Carl-Diem-Fund'. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 110.
- DIEM, C., 1957e. Raise Olympia to the Light! In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 109-110.
- DIEM, C., 1957g. Wintersport is Self-Fulfilment. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 93.
- DIEM, C., 1956. That's Why it's Melbourne. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 91-93.
- DIEM, C., 1952a. Competition for the Olympic Youth Tour to Helsinki 1952. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 17-20.
- DIEM, C., 1949. Tasks of the National Olympic Committee. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 82-88.
- DIEM, C., 1948. In the Olympic Spirit. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 80-82.
- DIEM, C., 1942b. Coubertin's Heart in Eternal Olympia. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 9-11.
- DIEM, C., 1942c. Memorandum for the International Olympic Committee. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 57.
- DIEM, C., 1942d. Note on Preparations for the VIth Olympiad 1916. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 46-49.
- DIEM, C., 1940. Torch-race Visions. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 77-78.
- DIEM, C., 1938b. Helsinki. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 78-80.
- DIEM, C., 1938c. The International Olympic Institute in Berlin. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 34-35.
- DIEM, C., 1936a. Official Report on the Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 75-76.

- DIEM, C., 1936c. Olympia-Berlin Torch Relay. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 65-67.
- DIEM, C., 1936d. 'Olympic Youth' Festival Play. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 73-74.
- DIEM, C., 1936e. Preparations for the 1936 Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 67-72.
- DIEM, C., 1933a. The Games of the XIth Olympiad, Berlin, 1-16 August 1936. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 63-64.
- DIEM, C., 1933b. The Meaning of the Modern Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 6-9.
- DIEM, C., 1932. Olympic Days of Wandering, Teaching and Learning. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 58-63.
- DIEM, C., 1930. The Opening of the Olympic Congress. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 33.
- DIEM, C., 1929. Note on the Future Programme of the International Olympic Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 53-56.
- DIEM, C., 1925. The Result of Prague. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 31-33.
- DIEM, C., 1923. The Stadium in Stockholm. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 40-44.
- DIEM, C., 1920a. Germany's Olympic Movement. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 3-5.
- DIEM, C., 1920b. The Olympic Idea. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 1-2.
- DIEM, C., 1914. The Result of the Paris Sport Congress. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 30-31.
- DIEM, C., 1913. The First Step to the VIth Olympiad. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 45-46.
- DIEM, C., 1912a. The International Olympic Committee. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 27-30.

- DIEM, C., 1912b. Towards the Olympic Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 38-39.
- DIEM, C., 1912c. VIth Olympiad. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 44.
- DIEM, C., 1906a. The Games. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUTE (1970), ed, *The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*. Germany: Verlag Karl Hofmann, pp. 37-38.
- DODDS, K., 2000. *Geopolitics in a Changing World*. Prentice Hall.
- DONELLY, P., 1996. The local and the global: globalization in the sociology of sport. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, **20**(3), pp. 239-257.
- DONELLY, P., 1996. Prolympism: Sport Monoculture as Crisis and Opportunity. *Quest*, **48**, pp. 25-42.
- DONNELLY, P., 1995. Sport Monoculture: Crisis or Opportunity? *International Olympic Academy: 35th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 55-68.
- DUNNING, E. and SHEARD, K., 1976. *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*. London: Martin Robertson.
- DUNNING, E.G. and SHEARD, K., 1979. *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: a sociological study of the development of rugby football*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- DUSSEL, E., 2002. World System and 'Trans'-Modernity. *Nepantla: Views from the South 3.2*. Duke University Press.
- DUSSEL, E., 2000. Europe, Modernity, and Eurocentrism. *Nepantla: Views from the South 1.3*. Duke University Press.
- EAGLETON, T., 1991. *Ideology*. London: Verso.
- EICHBERG, H., 2004. The Global, the Popular and the Inter-Popular: Olympic Sport between Market, State and Civil Society. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 65-80.
- EICHBERG, H., 1984. Olympic Sport: Neo-colonialism and alternatives. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **19**, pp. 97-105.
- ESPY, R., 1979. *The Politics of the Olympic Games*. London, England: University of California Press.
- EYQUEM, M.T., 1981. *Pierre de Coubertin: L'Epoque Olympique*. Paris: Calman-Levy.
- FEATHERSTONE, M., 1990. *Global culture: nationalism, globalization and modernity*. London: Sage.

- FERRIS, D., 2000. *Silent Urns: Romanticism, Hellenism, Modernity*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- FIELDING, N. and LEE, R.M., 1991. Computing for Qualitative Research: Options, Problems and Potential. In: N. FIELDING and R.M. LEE, eds, *Using Computers in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- FOUCAULT, M., 1980. *The history of sexuality*. New York: Random House.
- FOUCAULT, M., 1977. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- FUKUYAMA, F., 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man*. Hammondsorth: Penguin.
- FUKUYAMA, F., 1989. The End of History? *National Interest*, **Summer**.
- GAFNER, R., 1971. Olympism in the World of Tomorrow, *International Olympic Academy: 11th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 170-181.
- GELLNER, E., 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- GIDDENS, A., 1994. *Beyond left and right: the future of radical politics*.
- GIDDENS, A., 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIDDENS, A., 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory*. London: Macmillan.
- GILPIN, R., 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- GRAMSCI, A., 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- GRUNEAU, R., 1993. The Critique of Sport in Modernity. In: M.J. DUNNING E AND R. PEARTON, eds, *The Sport Process. A Comparative and Developmental Approach*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.
- GRUNEAU, R., 1989. *Television, the Olympics, and the Question of Ideology*.
- GRUNEAU, R., 1988. Modernization or Hegemony: two views on sport and social development. In: J.C. HARVEY H., ed, *Not just A Game*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, pp. 9-32.
- GUBA, E.G. and LINCOLN, Y.S., 1994. Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In: N.K. DENZIN and Y.S. LINCOLN, eds, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 1st Ed., pp. 105-117, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- GUTTMANN, A., 1994. *Games and Empires. Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- GUTTMANN, A., 1978. *From Ritual to Record*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- GUTTMANN, A., THOMPSON, 2001. Educators, Imitators, Modernizers: The Arrival and Spread of Modern Sport in Japan. In: J.A. MANGAN, ed, *Europe, Sport World. Shaping Global Societies*. London: Frank Cass.
- GUTTMANN, A., 1992. *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- GUTTMANN, A., 1991. Sports diffusion: A response to Maguire and the Americanization commentaries. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **8**, pp. 185-190.
- HAAG, H., 1982. Life and Work of Carl Diem. The Father of Modern Physical Education in Germany. *International Journal of Physical Education*, **19**(2), pp. 24-30.
- HALL, S., HOBSON, D., LOWE, A., & WILLIS, P., 1980. *Culture, media and society*. London: Hutchinson.
- HALL, S., 1992. The Question of Cultural Identity. In: S. HALL, D. HELD and A. MCGREW, eds, *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- HANNA, M., 1999. *Reconciliation in Olympism. Indigenous Culture in the Sydney Olympiad*. New South Wales: Walla Press.
- HANNERZ, U., 1990. Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures. In: A.D. KING, ed, *Culture, Globalisation and the World System*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- HARGREAVES, J., 1994. *Sporting Females: critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports*. London: Routledge.
- HARVEY, D., 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- HARVEY, J. and HOULE, F., 1994. Sport, World Economy, Global Culture, and New Social Movements. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **11**, pp. 337-355.
- HAY, C., 2002. *Political Analysis; Political Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HAY, C., 1994. Labour's Thatcherite revisionism: playing the 'politics of catch-up'. *Political studies*, **XLII**(4), pp. 700-707.
- HAY, C. and MARSH, D., 2000. Introduction: Demystifying Globalization. In: C. HAY and D. MARSH, eds, *Demystifying Globalization*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave in association with POLSIS, University of Birmingham, pp. 1-17.
- HEINEMANN, K., 1993. Sport in Developing Countries. In: DUNNING and PEARTON, ed, *The Sport Process. A Comparative and Developmental Approach*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.

- HEINZE, G., 1989. The Concept of the IOC On Doping as a Counterpoint to the Olympic Spirit, *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy pp60-66.
- HELD, D., MCGREW, A.G., GOLDBLATT, D. and PERRATON, J., 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- HENRY, I.P. ET AL, *Women, Leadership and the Olympic Movement*. Available: www.olympic.org [Accessed: 15/3/05].
- HENRY, I.P., 2005. Islam, Feminism and the Olympic Movement, Unpublished presentation in the *2005 British Olympic Academy*, April 10, 2005.
- HEYWOOD, A., 2002. *Politics*. London: Palgrave.
- HEYWOOD, A., 2000. *Key Concepts in Politics*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- HILL, C., 1992. *Olympic Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- HILL, S., 1990. Britain: The Dominant Ideology Thesis after a decade. In: ABERCOMBIE N., H., S., AND TURNER B.S., eds, *Dominant Ideologies*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- HIRST, P. and THOMPSON, G., 1996. *Globalisation in Question. The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance*. Cambridge: Polity.
- HIRST, P. and THOMPSON, G., 1995. Globalization and the Future of the Nation-State. *Economy and Society*, **24**(3), pp. 408-442.
- HOBERMAN, J., 2004. Sportive Nationalism and Globalization. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: pp. 177-188.
- HOBERMAN, J., 1995. Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism. *Journal of Sport History*, **22**(1).
- HOBERMAN, J., 1986. *The Olympic Crisis. Sport, Politics and the Moral Order*. New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Publishing Co, Inc.
- HOBERMAN, J., 1984. *Sport and Political Ideology*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- HOBSBAWM, E., 1992. Mass-producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In: HOBSBAWM and RANGER, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Canto/Cambridge University Press.
- HOBSBAWM, E.J., 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HOCH, P., 1972. *Rip Off the Big Game: The Exploitation of Sport by the Power Elite*. New York: Doubleday.

- HOOGVELT, A., 2001. *Globalization and the Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- HORTON, P.A., 2001. Complex Creolization: The Evolution of Modern Sport in Singapore. In: J.A.MANGAN, ed, *Europe, Sport World. Shaping Global Societies*. London: Frank Cass.
- HOULIHAN, B., 2001. The World Anti-Doping Agency: Prospects for Success. In: J. O' LEARY, ed, *Drugs and Doping in Sport: Socio-Legal Perspectives*. Cavendish Publishing Ltd, pp. 125-145.
- HOULIHAN, B., 1999. *Dying to Win: doping in sport and the development of anti-doping policy*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- HOULIHAN, B., 1994a. Homogenization, Americanization, and Creolization of Sport: Varieties of Globalization. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **11**, pp. 356-375.
- HOULIHAN, B., 1994b. *Sport and International Politics*. London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.
- HOWELL, M., 1994. Comments on 'Swimming with the Big Boys'. *Sporting Traditions*, **11**, pp. 31-35.
- HUNTINGTON, S., 1996. *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- IOA YOUNG PARTICIPANTS SESSIONS ONLINE. Available: www-regional.iasm-forth.gr/IOA/ [Accessed: 20/4/05]
- JARVIE, G., 1993. American Football, British Society, and Global Sport Development. In: E.G. DUNNING, J.A. MAGUIRE and R.E. PEARTON, eds, *The Sport Process. A Comparative and Developmental Approach*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.
- JARVIE, G., 1991. *Highland Games: The Making of the Myth*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- JARVIE, G., 1991. *Sport, Race and Ethnicity*. Brighton: Falmer Press.
- JARVIE, G. and MAGUIRE, J., 1994. *Sport and leisure in Social Thought*. London: Routledge.
- JARVIE, G. and REID, I., 1997. Race relations, sociology of sport and the new politics of race and racism. *Leisure Studies*, **16**(4), pp. 211-219.
- JENNINGS, V.S.A., 1992. *The Lords of the Rings*. London: Simon & Schuster
- JESSOP, B., 1991. Thatcherism and flexibility - the white heat of a post-Fordist revolution. pp. 135-161.

- KADOODOOBA, M.B., 1997. *Coubertin et l'Olympisme. Questions pour l'avenir; Implications for Olympic Education and Training through Olympism in Africa*. Le Havre: University of Le Havre.
- KANIN, D.B., 1981. *A Political History of the Olympic Games*. Awetview Replica.
- KASTORYANO, R., 2002. *Negotiating Identities: States and Immigrants in France and Germany*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- KELLE, U. and LAURIE, H., 1995. Computer Use in Qualitative Research and Issues of Validity. In: U. KELLE, ed, *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis: Theory, Methods and Practice*. London: Sage.
- KIDD, B., 1996. Taking the Rhetoric Seriously: Proposals for Olympic Education. *Quest*, **48**, pp. 82-92.
- KIDD, B., 1992. The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **27**(2), pp. 151-164.
- KIDD, B., 1991. How Do We Find Our Own Voices in the "New World Order?" A Commentary on Americanisation. *Sociology of Sport*, **8**, pp. 178-184.
- KIDD, B., 1984. *The Myth of the Ancient Games. Five Ring Circus: Money, Power and Politics at the Olympic Games*. London: Pluto.
- KIDD, B., 1981. Sport Dependency and the Canadian State. In: A.S.B. M. HART, ed, *Sport in the Sociocultural Process*. Dubuque: IA: Brown Co. Publishers.
- KING, A.D., 1995. *Global Modernities; The Times and Spaces of Modernity (or Who Needs Post-modernism?)*. London: Sage.
- KLEIN, A., 1991. *Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- KLEIN, A., 1989. Baseball as Underdevelopment: The Political-Economy of Sport in the Dominican Republic. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **6**, pp. 95-112.
- KLEIN, A.M., 2001. *No Logo. Flamingo*.
- KROES, R., 1999. American Empire and Cultural Imperialism. *Diplomatic History*, **23**(3), pp. 463-477.
- KRÜGER, A., 1999. The Unfinished Symphony: A History of the Olympic Games from Coubertin to Samaranch. In: J. RIORDAN and A. KRÜGER, eds, *The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century*. London: Taylor and Francis, pp. 3-27.
- KUHN, T.S., 1970. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- KUISEL, R., 2000. Commentary. Americanization for Historians. *Diplomatic History*, **24**(3), pp. 509-515.
- KUKLICK, B., 2000. Commentary. The Future of Cultural Imperialism. *Diplomatic History*, **24**(3), pp. 503-508.
- LALAOUI, B., 1993. Olympism as a Cultural Phenomenon and a Factor of Social Development and Social Policy: A Link Between Society, Sport and Religion, *International Olympic Academy: 33rd Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy pp102-108.
- LANDRY, F., 1985. Olympic Education and International Understanding: Educational Challenge or Cultural Hegemony? *International Olympic Academy: 25th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 139-149.
- LANDRY, F., 1980. Olympics, Politics and Education: Impulses and trends, grandeur and misfortunes, *20th Session of the International Olympic Academy*.
- LANDRY, F. and YERLES, M., 1994. The Presidencies of Lord Killanin (1972-1980) and of Juan Antonio Samaranch (1980-). In: T.I.O. COMMITTEE, ed, *The International Olympic Committee - One Hundred Years: The Idea - The Presidents - The Achievements*. Lausanne: International Olympic Academy.
- LAWLER, P.A., 1994. Fukuyama versus the End of History. In: T. BURNS, ed, *After History? Francis Fukuyama and His Critics*. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, pp. 63-80.
- LAYDER, D., 1997. *Modern Social Theory. Key debates and new directions*. London: UCL Press.
- LEE, R.L.M., 1994. Globalisation and Cultural Change. *Current Sociology*, **42**(2), pp. 26-37.
- LEIPER, J.M., 1980. The Evolution of the Olympic Ideal Since 1896, *International Olympic Academy: 20th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 89-96.
- LEIPER, J.M., 1976. *The International Olympic Committee: its structure and function, past and present problems, and future challenges*, PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta.
- LEKARSKA, N., 1988. Olympism - Immutable Values and Outdated Factors, *International Olympic Academy: 28th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 73-80.
- LENK, H., 1964. Values, Aims, Reality of the Modern Olympic Games, *International Olympic Academy: 4th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 205-211.
- LENK, H., 1982. Carl Diem - The Humanist. *International Journal of Physical Education*, **19**(4), pp. 9-12.

LENSKYJ, H.J., 2004. Making the World Safe for a Global Capital: The Sydney 2000 Olympic and Beyond. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 135-146.

LENSKYJ, H.J., 2000. Inside the Olympic Industry: Power, Politics and Activism. New York: State University of New York Press.

LEWIS, P.A., 2000. Realism, causality and the problem of social structure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, **30**(3), pp. 249-268.

LIPONSKI, W., 1992. Between Western Concepts and East European Reality: Some Aspects of Commercialization in Olympism Sport of the 1980s and Early 1990s, *International Olympic Academy: 32nd Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 110-117.

LOLAND, S., 2004. The Vulnerability Thesis and its Consequences: A Critique of Specialization in Olympic Sport. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg.

LOLAND., S., 2001. Fair Play - a moral norm system. London/New York: Routledge.

LOLAND, S., 1994. Pierre de Coubertin's Ideology of Olympism from the Perspective of the History of Ideas, *Second International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 1994.

LOPEZ, A., 1987. Olympic Solidarity - Olympic Education, *27th Session of the International Olympic Academy*, 1987.

LUCAS, J., 1992. Future of the Olympic Games. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.

LUCAS, J., 1980. The Modern Olympic Games. London: Thomas Yoseloff Ltd.

LUKES, S., 1974. Power: a Radical View. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

MACALOON, J., 1981. This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MACALOON, J.J., 1996. Humanism as Political Necessity? Reflections on the Pathos of Anthropological Science in Olympic Contexts. *Quest*, **48**, pp. 67-81.

MAGUIRE, J., 1999. Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilization. Cambridge: Polity Press.

MAGUIRE, J., 1994. Sport, identity politics, and globalization: Diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **11**, pp. 398-427.

MAGUIRE, J., 1993. Globalisation, Sport and National Identities: "The Empires Strike Back"? *Society and Leisure*, **16**(2), pp. 293-322.

MAGUIRE, J., 1990. More than a Sporting Touchdown: The Making of American Football in England 1982-1990. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **7**, pp. 213-237.

MAGUIRE, J., JARVIE, G., MANSFIELD, L. and BRADLY, J., 2002. Sport Worlds. A Sociological Perspective. USA: Human Kinetics.

MANDELL, R., 1984. Sport: a cultural history. New York: Columbia University Press.

MANDELL, R., 1974. Carl Diem on Sport and War. *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, **5**(1), pp. 10-13.

MANDELL, R., 1971. The Nazi Olympics. London: Souvenir Press.

MANDELL, R.D., 1976. The First Modern Olympics. Berkeley: University of California Press.

MANGAN, J.A., and NAM-GIL, H., 2001. Confucianism, Imperialism, Nationalism: Modern Sport, Ideology and Korean Culture. In: J.A. MANGAN, ed, *Europe, Sport World. Shaping Global Societies*. London: Frank Cass.

MANGAN, J.A., 2001. The European Sports History Review: Europe, Sport World. Shaping Global Societies; Prologue: Imperialism, Sport, Globalization. London: Frank Cass.

MANGAN, J.A., 2000. Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. London: Frank Cass.

MANGAN, J.A. and HICKEY, C., 2001. Globalization, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Further Aspects on the Diffusion of an Ideal. In: J.A. MANGAN, ed, *Europe, Sport World: Shaping Global Societies*. London: Frank Cass.

MARSH, D., AND FURLONG, P., 2002. A Skin not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science. In: D.M.A.G. STOKER, ed, *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

MARSH, D., 1999. Explaining Change in the Post-war Period. *Post-war British Politics in Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

MARSH, D. and SMITH, M., 2001. There is More than One Way to do Political Science: On Different Ways to Study Political Network. *Political Studies*, **49**, pp. 528-541.

MASSEY, D., 1991. A Global Sense of Place. *Marxism Today*, **June**.

MATTHIA, A., 1989. The Olympic Movement, Youth and Doping, *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session, 1989*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 126-132.

MCGREW, A., 1992. A Global Society. *Global politics :globalization and the nation-state*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

MCGREW, A.G., 1992. Modernity and its Futures. The Open University Press.

MERKEL, U., 2000. The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (DFB), 1900-50. *Soccer and Society*, **1**(2), pp. 167-186.

METALLINOS, G.D., 1995. Orthodox and European Culture. Available: www.romanity.org/mir/me04en.htm [Accessed: 10/10/04].

MILSHTEIN, O., 1992. Commercialization in Sport and the Pedagogical Aims of the Olympic Movement, *International Olympic Academy: 32nd Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 118-138.

MILTON-SMITH, J., 2002. Ethics, the Olympics and the Search for Global Values. *Journal of Business Ethics*, **35**, pp. 131-142.

MØLLER, V., 2004. Doping and the Olympic Games from an Aesthetic Perspective. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 201-210.

MOLOKOTOS-LIEDERMAN., L., 2003. The Religious Factor In The Construction Of Europe: Greece, Orthodoxy And The European Union, *The 1st LSE PhD Symposium on Modern Greece: "Current Social Science Research on Greece" LSE*, June 21, 2003.

MOLTMANN, J., 1980. Olympism and Religion, *International Olympic Academy: 20th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 81-88.

MORAGAS SPA, M., DE RIVENBURGH, N. and LARSON, J.F., 1995. Television in the Olympics. London: John Libbey.

MORGAN, W.J., 1994. Coubertin's theory of Olympic Internationalism: A Critical Reinterpretation, V.MEIER, ed. In: *Second International Symposium for Olympic Research*.

MÜLLER, N. and TUTTAS, R., 2000. The role of the YMCA: especially that of Elwood S. Brown, Secretary of physical education of the YMCA, in the worldwide expansion of the Olympic Movement during de Coubertin's presidency. *5th International Symposium for Olympic Research*, Sydney, pp. 127-134.

MÜLLER, N., 2000. Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937. Olympism, Selected Writings. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

MÜLLER, N., 1998. The IOA Sessions of the International Olympic Academy: 1961-1998. International Olympic Academy.

MÜLLER, N., 1988. Olympism and "Sport for All", *28th International Session of Young Participants*.

MUNNING, P.K. and CULLUM-SWAN, B., 1998. Narrative, Content, and Semiotic Analysis. In: N.K. DENZIN and Y. LINCOLN S., eds, *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. London: Sage.

- MUNSLOW, A., 1997. *Deconstructing Reality*. London: Routledge.
- MURRAY, H., 1993. The Road to Olympism. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, **69**(2), pp. 353.
- MZALI, M., 1984. The Olympic Games: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow, *International Olympic Academy: 24th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 44-56.
- NAFZIGER, J., 1985. Foreign Policy in the Sport Arena. In: J. JOHNSON, ed, *Government and Sport: The Public Policy Issue*. Rawmoin and Allanheld.
- NETTL, J. and ROBERTSON, R., 1968. *International Systems and the Modernization of Societies*. London: Faber.
- NEVERKOVICH, S., 1987. Methods of Olympic Education, *International Olympic Academy: 27th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 172-176.
- NISSIOTIS, N., 1984. Olympism and Today's Reality, *International Olympic Academy: 24th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 57-74.
- NUD*IST, Q., 1997-last update, QSR NUD*IST: software for qualitative data analysis.
- OLYMPIC CHARTER, 2004. Available: www.olympic.org [Accessed: 20/2/05].
- OSTERHOUDT, R.G., 1981. Capitalist and Socialist Interpretations of Modern Amateurism: An Essay on the Fundamental Difference. In: J. SEGRAVE and D. CHU, eds, *Olympism*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics, pp. 42-46.
- PAPADOYANNAKIS, Y., 1989. Legislative Measures and Penalization of Doping, *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 81-86.
- PARIENTE, R., 1989. The End of Doping: Utopia or Reality? *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 116-125.
- PARRY, J., 2004. Olympism and its Ethic, *International Olympic Academy: 44th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy.
- PARRY, J., 1988. Olympism at the Beginning and End of the Twentieth Century - Immutable Values and Principles and Outdated Factors, *International Olympic Academy: 28th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 81-94.
- PARRY, J., 1994. The Moral and Cultural Dimensions of Olympism and their Educational Application, *34th Session of Young Participants*.
- PARSONS, T. and SMELSER, N., 1968. *Economy and Society*. London: Routledge.
- PATON, G. and BARNEY, R.K., 2002. Adolf Hitler, Carl Diem, Werner Klingeberg, and the Thousand Year Reich: Nazi Germany and Its Envisioned Pos-War Olympic World, K.B.

WAMSLEY, R.K. BARNEY and S.G. MARTYN, eds. In: *The Global Nexus Engaged: Past, Present, Future Interdisciplinary Olympic Studies. Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 2002, pp. 93-104.

PEARCE, F., 1989. *The Radical Durkheim*. London: Unwin Hyman.

PELLS, R., 1997. *Not like us: How European have loved, hated, transformed American culture since the World War II*. New York: New York Basic Books.

PIETERSE, J.N., 1995. Globalization as Hybridization. In: M. FEATHERSTONE, S. LASH and R. ROBERTSON, eds, *Global Modernities*. London: Sage.

POTTER, J., 1997. Discourse analysis as a way of analyzing naturally-occurring talk. In: D. SILVERMAN, ed, *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage, pp. 144-160.

POURET, H., 1970. What are People Demanding from Olympism? *International Olympic Academy: 10th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 100-106.

PREVELAKIS, N., 2003. The Spirit of Greek Nationalism: An Examination of the Greek case in the light of Greenfeld's conceptual framework, *The 1st LSE PhD Symposium on Modern Greece: "Current Social Science Research on Greece" LSE*, June 21, 2003.

RAMAZANOGLU, C. and HOLLAND, J., 2002. *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*. London: Sage Publications.

READ, K., 1989. The IOC Athletes Commission Anti-Doping Campaign, *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 112-115.

RIGAUER, B., 1981. *Sport and Work*. New York: Columbia University Press.

RIORDAN, J., 1999. The Impact of Communism on Sport. In: J. RIORDAN and A. KRÜGER, eds, *The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century*. London: Taylor and Francis, pp. 48-66.

RIORDAN, J., KRÜGER, A. and KRÜGER, A., 1999. *The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century*. London: Taylor and Francis.

RITTER, P., 1978. The Olympic Movement in the Service of Peace and Brotherhood, *International Olympic Academy: 18th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 179-184.

ROBERTSON, R., 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

ROBINS, K., 1991. Tradition and Translation: national culture in its global context. In: J. CORNER and S. HARVEY, eds, *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*. London: Routledge.

- ROCHE, M., 2000. *Mega-events and Modernity: Olympics, Expos and the Growth of Global Culture*. London: Routledge.
- RODDA, J., 1989. A Drug Testing System Which Protects the Rights of the Individual, *International Olympic Academy: 29th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy pp102-105.
- ROESCH, H., 1979. Olympism and Religion. Idea and Reality - An Attempt to a New Interpretation, *International Olympic Academy: 19th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 192-205.
- ROSENAU, J., 1990. *Turbulence in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ROSENAU, J., 1980. *The Study of Global Interdependence*. New York: Nichols.
- ROSTOW, W.W., 1960. *The Stages of Economic Growth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RUDSHIE, S., 1991. *Imaginary Homelands*. London: Granta Books.
- RUUSKA, P., 1999. Globalization, Connections and Dialogues. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, **2**(2), pp. 249-261.
- SAID, W., 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- SAMARANCH, J.A., 1978. Olympism in the Various Sectors of Society, *International Olympic Academy: 18th Young Participants Session, 1978*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 42-48.
- SAMARANCH, J.A., 1995. The Olympic Movement. *Journal of International Communication*, **2**(1), pp. 3-5.
- SANDBLAD, H., 1985. *Olympia och Valhalla. Idehistoriska aspekter av den moderna idrottsrorelsens framvaxt*. Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell.
- SCHAFFER, K., SMITH, S. and SMITH, S., 2000. *The Olympics at the Millennium: Power, Politics and the Games*. London: Rutgers University Press.
- SCHANTZ, O., 2005. *Power Play: Olympics Versus Paralympics*, Unpublished presentation in the *Centre for Olympic Studies and Research Seminar Series Seminar Series*, March 4, 2005.
- SCHILLER, H.I., 1969. *Mass Communications and American Empire*. New York: Kelley.
- SCHNEIDER, A., 1996. Women in the Republic and the Olympic Movement, *International Olympic Academy: 36th Young Participants Session*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 104-109.
- SCHUMPETER, J.A., 1951. *Imperialism and Social classes*. New York: Kelley.

- SCOFFLER, H., 1935. England, das Land des Sportes. Leipzig: Tauchnitz.
- SCOTT, J., 1990. A Matter of Record. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- SEGRAVE, J. and CHU, D., 1981. Olympism. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- SEGRAVE, J., CHU, D. and CHU, D., 1988. The Olympic Games in Transition. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics Books.
- SEGRAVE, J.O., 2000. The (Neo) Modern Olympic Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **35**(3), pp. 268-281.
- SEGRAVE, J.O. and CHU, D., 1996. Introduction - The Modern Olympic Games: A Contemporary Sociocultural Analysis. *Quest*, **48**, pp. 2-8.
- SEPPANEN, P., 1984. The Olympics: A Sociological Perspective. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **19**(2), pp. 113-127.
- SILVERMAN, D., 2001. Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction. London: Sage.
- SIMRI, U., 1983. Israel and the Asian Games, *26th ICHPER World Congress*, 1983.
- SIMRI, U., 1981. The State of Women's Sports: The Olympic, International, and National Scenes. In: J. SEGRAVE and D. CHU, eds, *Olympism*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- SIMSON, Y. and JENNINGS, A., 1991. The Lords of the Rings. Power, Money and Drugs in the Modern Olympics. London: Simon and Schuster Ltd.
- SMITH, A.D., 1991. National Identity. Hammondsworth: Penguin Books.
- SOYSAL, Y. and ANTONIOU, V., 2000. A Common Religious Past? Portrayals of the Byzantine and Ottoman Heritages from Within and Without, *5th Workshop of the Southeast European Joint History Project Textbook Committee on 'Teaching Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the History of South-East Europe'*, 21-23 September 2000.
- STEPHENS, A., 1989. Socrates or Chorus Person? The Problem of Individuality in Nietzsche's Hellenism. In: G.W. CLARKE, ed, *Rediscovering Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 237-260.
- STODDART, B., 1988. Caribbean Cricket - the Role of Sport in Emerging Small-Nation Politics. *International Journal*, **43**(4), pp. 618-642.
- STODDART, B., 1988. Cricket and Colonialism in the English-Speaking Caribbean to 1914: Toward a Cultural Analysis. In: J.A.MANGAN, ed, *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism. British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*.

- STOLYAROV, V., 1995. The Two World Political Evolution And Its Consequences for the Olympic Movement. Can the Olympic Movement Influence Political Changes Through Olympic Education? *International Olympic Academy: 35th Young Participants Session, 1995*, International Olympic Academy, pp. 76-89.
- STRANGE, S., 1995. The Limits of Politics. *Government and Opposition*, **30**(3), pp. 291-311.
- STRENK, A., 1981. Amateurism: Myth and Reality. In: J. SEGRAVE and D. CHU, eds, *Olympism*. Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- STRINATI, D., 1995. An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture. London: Routledge.
- SUGDEN, J. and TOMLINSON, A., 1998a. FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who rules the people's game? Cambridge: Polity Press.
- SUGDEN, J. and TOMLINSON, A., 1998b. Power and resistance in the governance of world football: theorizing g FIFA's transnational impact. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, **22**, pp. 299-316.
- TAYLOR, P.J., 2000. Izations of the World: Americanization, Modernization and Globalization. In: C. HAY and D. MARSH, eds, *Demystifying Globalisation*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave in association with POLSIS, University of Birmingham.
- TAYLOR, P.J., 1999. Modernities. A Geohistorical Interpretation. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- TELAMA, R., NAUL, R., NUPPONEN, H., RYCHTECKY, A., AND VUOLLE P., 2002. *Physical Fitness, Sporting Lifestyles and Olympic Ideals: Cross-Cultural Studies on Youth Sport in Europe*. Verlag Karl Hofman, Schorndorf.
- TENNYSON, C., 1959. They taught the world to play. *Victorian Studies*.
- TESCHE, L.A.R., A.B., 2001. Reconstructing the Fatherland: German Turnem in Southern Brazil in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. In: J.A. MANGAN, ed, *Europe, Sport World. Shaping Global Societies*. London: Frank Cass.
- THOMA, J.E. and CHALIP, L., 1996. Sport Governance in the Global Community. Fitness International Technology Inc.
- THOMPSON, J.B., 1995. The media and modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- TIPTON, F.B. and ALDRICH, R., 1987. An Economical and Social History of Europe from 1939 to Present. Macmillan.
- TIVEY, L., 1980. The Nation-State. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- TOMLINSON, A., 2004. The Disneyfication of the Olympics? Theme Parks and Freak-Shows of the Body. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 147-164.

- TOMLINSON, J., 1991. Cultural Imperialism. London: Pinter Publications Ltd.
- TOOHEY, K. and VEAL, A., 2000. The Olympic Games. A Social Science Perspective. London: CAB International.
- TORRES, C.T., 2002. Tribulations and achievements: the early history of Olympism in Argentina. In: J.A. MANGAN and L. DACOSTA, eds, *Sport in Latin American Society – Past and Present*. London: Frank Cass, pp. 60.
- TURNER, B., 1991. Politics and Culture in Islamic Globalism. In: R. ROBERTSON and W. GARRETT, eds, *Religion and Global Order*. New York: Paragon, pp. 161-182.
- TURNER, B.S., 1990. Conclusion: Peroration on ideology. In: ABERCOMBIE N., H., S., AND TURNER B.S., ed, *Dominant Ideologies*. London: Academic Division of Unwin Hyman Ltd.
- US ARMY (2004). The official website of the US Army. Available: <http://www4.army.mil/> [Accessed: 14/10/2004].
- VARELA, C., AND HARRÉ, R., 1996. Conflicting varieties of realism: casual powers and the problems of social structure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, **26**(3), pp. 314-325.
- VINNAI, G., 1973. Football mania. London: Ocean Books.
- VOLTAS, J.P.I., 2001. Olympic Training and Education Programmes in Sports Initiation Schools, *11th IASI World Congress*, 25-27 April 2001.
- VON LAUE, T.H., 1994. From Fukuyama to Reality: A Critical Essay. In: B. T., ed, *After History? Francis Fukuyama and His Critics*. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, pp. 23-38.
- VOY, R., 1991. Drugs, Sport and Politics. Leisure Press.
- VRIJMAN, E.N., 2001. Harmonisation: A Bridge too Far? A Commentary on Current Issues and Problems. In: J. O' LEARY, ed, *Drugs and Doping in Sport: Socio-Legal Perspectives*. Cavendish Publishing Ltd, pp. 147-165.
- WADDINGTON, I., 2000. Sport, Health and Drugs: A Critical Sociological Perspective. London: Taylor and Francis.
- WAGNER, E., 1990. Sport in Africa and Asia: Americanization or mundialization? *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **7**, pp. 399-402.
- WALLERSTEIN, I., 1974. The Modern World-System. New York: Academic.
- WAMSLEY, K.B., 2004. Laying Olympism to Rest. In: J. BALE and M.K. CHRISTENSEN, eds, *Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 231-242.
- WATERS, M., 2001. Modernization; Modernization. London: Routledge.

- WATERS, M., 1995. Globalization. The Open University, Milton Keynes: Routledge.
- WEBER, W., 1970. Pierre de Coubertin and the introduction of organised sport in France. *Journal of Contemporary History*, **5**, pp. 3-26.
- WEINER, M., 1966. Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth. New York: Voice of America.
- WHITELEGG, D., 1999. Review of Pells, Richard (1997) Not like us: How European have loved, hated, transformed American culture since the World War II. *New Journal of American Studies*, **33**(1), pp. 163-164.
- WILLIAMS, R., 1985. Marxism and Literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WILLIAMS, R., 1983. Keywords. London: Fontana.
- WILSON, J., 1994. Playing by the Rules: sport, society, and the state. Detroit: Wayne University Press.
- WILSON, J. and FREY, J.H., 1995. Playing by the rules: sport, society and the state [review]. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, **540**, pp. 188.
- WOODIWISS, A., 2001. The Visual in Social Theory. London: Athlone Press.
- YOUNG, K., 1977. Values in the Policy Process. *Policy and Politics*, **5**, pp. 1-22
- ZIJL, W.V., 1964. Weakness and Strength of the Olympic Movement, *International Olympic Academy: 4th Young Participants Session, 1964*, International Olympic Academy pp212-222.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

**FINAL SELECTION OF SPEECHES
INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC ACADEMY (IOA)
1961-1998**

Speaker	Title	Year	Country
BRUNDAGE Avery	The Olympic Philosophy	1963	USA
LENK Hans	Values, aims and reality of the Modern Games	1964	Federal Republic of Germany
ZIJL W. van	Weaknesses and strengths of the Olympic Movement	1964	Netherlands
OWENS Jesse	A pedagogical evaluation of the Olympic Games from the point of view of the athletes	1969	USA
MORGAN Vernon	The Pen and the sword	1969	Great Britain
POURET Henri	What are People Demanding from Olympism?	1970	France
SZYMICZEK Otto Dean	The Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Ideology	1970	Greece
GAFNER Raymond	Olympism in the world of tomorrow	1971	Switzerland
LAUERBACH Ernst	The propagation of Olympic principles in schools	1972	Federal Republic of Germany
ANDRECS Hermann	The Olympic idea and its realisation in schools	1973	Austria
SEURIN Pierre	Contribution of education to the Olympic Movement	1973	France
LUCAS John	Victorian 'Muscular Christianity' – Prologue to the Olympic Games philosophy	1975	USA
MÜLLER Norbert	The Olympic Idea of Pierre de Coubertin and Carl Diem and its materialisation in the International Olympic Academy	1976	Federal Republic of Germany
DOXAS Takis	Olympism in world education	1976	Greece
KARATASSAKIS Triantaphyllos	In contribution of the spiritual world to Olympism	1977	Greece

RITTER Peter	The Olympic Movement in the Service of Peace and Brotherhood	1978	Liechtenstein
SAMARANCH Juan Antonio	Olympism in the various sectors of society	1978	Spain
ROESCH- Heinz-Egon	Olympism and religion	1979	Federal Republic of Germany
LEIPER Jan	The evolution of the Olympic ideal since 1896	1980	Canada
MOLTMANN Jürgen	Olympism and religion	1980	Federal Republic of Germany
NAVACELLE Geoffroy de	Pierre de Coubertin's aims and the revival of the Olympic Games	1980	France
POWELL John	The Olympic Principles as Motivation for Sporting Activities	1980	Canada
NISSIOTIS Nikolaos	Olympism and Today's reality	1984	Greece
President			
MZALI Mohammad	The Olympic Games: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow	1984	Tunisia
FRASCA Rosabella Isidori	The overcoming of the contradictions in the basic principles of Olympism as the necessary aims for its proper use as a means of understanding between people and nations	1985	Italy
LANDRY Fernand	Olympic education and international understanding: Educational challenge or cultural hegemony	1985	Canada
ZERGUINI Mohamed	Olympic education as a contributing factor to international understanding	1985	Algeria
LOTZ Franz	Youth and the Olympic Movement	1987	Federal Republic of Germany
DURANTEZ Conrado	The National Olympic Committees and Olympic education	1987	Spain
NEVERKOVITCH Sergei	Methods of Olympic education	1987	Russia

ARDAY Laeszlo	The Olympic idea and Coubertin	1988	Hungary
CLARKE Kenneth	Olympism at the Beginning and at the End of the Twentieth Century. Immutable Values and Principles and Outdated Factors	1988	USA
LEKARSKA Nadia	Olympism: Immutable values and outdated factors	1988	Bulgaria
PARRY Jim	Olympism at the beginning and the end of the 20 th century. Immutable values and principles and outdated factors	1988	Great Britain
DEFRANTZ Anita	Olympic Movement: Youth and doping	1989	USA
HEINZE Günther	The Concept of the IOC on Doping as a Counterpoint to the Olympic Spirit	1989	German Democratic Republic
MATTHIA Anani	The Olympic Movement, Youth and Doping	1989	Togo
PAPADOYANNAKIS Yannis	Legislative Measures and Penalization of Doping	1989	Greece
PARIENTE Robert	The End of Doping: Utopia? Or Reality?	1989	France
READ Ken	The IOC Athletes Commission Anti-Doping Campaign	1989	Canada
RODDA John	A Drug Testing System which Protects the Rights of the Individual	1989	Great Britain
RONTOYANNIS George	Undesired Effects of Doping in Athletes	1989	Greece
ANTHONY Don	The propagation of Olympic education as a weapon against the corruption and commercialisation of world-wide sport	1992	Great Britain
FILARETOS Nikolaos President	The educational requirements of Olympism in its present philosophical dimension and commercialisation in sport	1992	Greece
LIPONSKI Wojciech	Between western concepts and East European reality: some aspects of commercialisation in Olympic sport of the 1980s and early 1990s	1992	Poland
MILSHTEIN Oleg	Commercialisation in sport and the pedagogical aims of the Olympic Movement	1992	Russia

BARNEY Robert	Golden Egg or Fool's Gold? American Olympic Commercialism and the IOC	1993	Canada
JOBLING Ian	The Olympic Movement as an expression of the world's power systems. An analysis of motives, attitudes and values	1993	Australia
LALAOUI Belkacem	Olympism as a cultural phenomenon and a factor of social development and social policy: a link between society, sport and religion	1993	Algeria
YUEN Yu-Kwong	A Comparative study of traditional Asian sport philosophy and the Olympic ideology	1993	Taipei
DELLAMARY Guillermo	Destination and prospects of the Olympic Movement	1994	Mexico
DONNELLY Peter	Sport Monoculture: Crisis or Opportunity?	1995	Canada
SHADDAD Kamal Hamid	Values, aims and reality of today's modern Olympic Games	1995	Sudan
STOLYAROV Viatcheslav	Global political evolution and its consequences for the Olympic Movement. Can the Olympic Movement influence political changes through Olympic education?	1995	Russia
SCHNEIDER Angela	Women in the Republic and the Olympic Movement	1996	Canada
DACOSTA Lamartine	The Olympic Movement today and environmental protection	1997	Brazil

APPENDIX II

FINAL FORM OF THE RESEARCH PROTOCOL PIERRE DE COUBERTIN DATA 1887-1937

Main Categories:

- I. Olympic Movement
- II. Olympism
- III. Olympic values

Index Tree

(1)Olympic Movement

(1 1)International Relations

(1 1 1)European

(1 1 1 1)*Belgium*

(1 1 1 2)*Greece*

(1 1 1 3)*England*

(1 1 1 4)*Germany*

(1 1 1 5)*Switzerland*

(1 1 1 6)*Holland*

(1 1 1 7)*Sweden*

(1 1 1 8)*Spain*

(1 1 1 9)*Italy*

(1 1 1 10)*France*

(1 1 1 11)*Hungary*

(1 1 1 12)*Russia*

(1 1 1 13)*Austria*

(1 1 1 14)*Finland*

(1 1 2)Overseas

(1 1 2 1)*Asia*

(1 1 2 1 1)*India*

(1 1 2 2)*Africa*

(1 1 2 3)*America*

(1 1 2 4)*Australia*

(1 1 2 5)*New Zealand*

(1 1 2 6)*Jamaica*

(1 2)Expansion

(1 3)Resistance

(1 3 1)Other Movements

(1 3 1 1)*Worker's Olympics*

(1 3 1 2)*Inter-allied Military*

(1 3 1 3)*Other*

(1 3 1 4)*African Games*

(1 3 1 5)*Far-East Games*

(1 3 2)Press

- (1 4) Congresses
 - (1 4 1) Meetings
- (1 5) Federations
 - (1 5 1) Associations
- (1 6) World War
- (1 7) Nationalism
- (1 8) Host Cities
- (1 9) National Olympic Committees
- (1 10) Spectators
- (1 11) Eurocentrism
- (1 12) Americanism
- (1 13) Spectacle
- (1 14) Imperialism
 - (1 14 1) colonialism
- (1 15) Olympics
 - (1 15 1) Restoration of the Olympic Games*
 - (1 15 2) Athens OG*
 - (1 15 3) Chicago*
 - (1 15 4) Paris 1900*
 - (1 15 5) St. Louis*
 - (1 15 6) Rome 1908 - transfer to London*
 - (1 15 7) 1908 London*
 - (1 15 8) 1912 Stockholm*
 - (1 15 9) Antwerp 1920*
 - (1 15 10) Paris 1924*
 - (1 15 11) Amsterdam 1928*
 - (1 15 12) Los Angeles 1932*
 - (1 15 13) Berlin 1936*
 - (1 15 14) Tokyo 1940*
- (1 16) Arts and Literature
- (1 17) Friendships
- (1 18) IOC
 - (1 18 1) Olympic Protocol*
- (1 19) Truce
- (1 20) Paternalism

(2)Olympism

(2 1)Definitions

(2 2)Origins

(2 2 1)Hellenism

(2 2 2)Anglo-saxonism

(2 2 3)Aestheticism

(2 2 4)Modernity

(2 2 5)Muscular Christianity

(2 2 6)Anglophilia

(2 2 7)eclecticism

(2 2 8)Cosmopolitanism

(2 3)Mottoes

(2 4)Symbols

(2 4 1)Flag

(2 4 2)Anthem

(2 4 3)Other

(2 4 4)Oath

(2 4 5)Ceremonies

(2 4 6)Torch

(2 5)Persons

(2 5 1)Thomas Arnold

(2 5 2)Father Didon

(2 5 3)Frederic Le Play

(2 5 4)Bishop of Pensylvania

(2 5 5)Bishop Spalding of Peoria

(2 5 6)Theodore Roosevelt

(2 5 7)Dr W.P. Brookes

(2 6)Quotes

(2 7)Sport

(2 7 1)Ethics

(2 7 2)sport for all

(2 7 3)Modern Sport

(2 7 4)athletics

(3)Olympic Values

(3 1)Gender

(3 1 1)Women's position

(3 1 2)Masculinity

(3 2)Amateurism

(3 2 1)Professionalism

(3 2 2)James Thorpe Affair

(3 2 3)Charter of Amateurism

(3 2 4)Solutions

(3 3)Social Classes

(3 3 1)Workers

(3 3 2)Aristocracy

(3 3 3)Race

(3 3 4)poor

(3 3 5)equality

(3 3 6)proletariat

(3 3 7)bourgeois

(3 3 8)ethnicity

(3 4)Mind and Body

(3 5)Fair Play

(3 5 1)Justice

(3 5 2)Respect

(3 6)Chivalry

(3 7)Internationalism

(3 7 1)Peace

(3 7 2)Multiculturalism

(3 7 3)Humanity

(3 7 4)Solidarity

(3 7 5)Sovereignty

(3 7 6)Truce

(3 7 7)Uniformity-isomorphism

(3 7 8)Altruism

(3 7 9)Universalism

(3 8)Self-control

- (3 9)Commercialism
 - (3 9 1)World Fair*
 - (3 9 2)Materialism*
 - (3 9 3)corruption*
 - (3 9 4)Money*
 - (3 9 5)Advertising*
- (3 10)self-esteem
- (3 11)Excellence
 - (3 11 1)Records*
 - (3 11 2)Specialisation*
 - (3 11 3)Excess*
- (3 12)Balance
 - (3 12 1)eurhythmy*
- (3 14)Freedom
 - (3 14 1)Independence*
- (3 15)Democracy
- (3 16)Beauty
- (3 17)Joy
- (3 18)Militarism
- (3 19)Dignity
- (3 20)Strength
- (3 22)Purity
- (3 23)Nobility
- (3 24)equality of sports
- (3 25)Religion
 - (3 25 1)Catholicism*
 - (3 25 2)Christianity*
- (3 26)Cooperation
- (3 27)Olympic athlete
- (3 29)Courage

APPENDIX III

**FINAL FORM OF THE RESEARCH PROTOCOL
CARL DIEM DATA
1912-1961**

Main Categories:

- I. Olympic Movement
- II. Olympism
- III. Olympic values

Index Tree

(1)Olympic Movement

- (1 1)International relations
 - (1 1 1)Germany
 - (1 1 1 1)sports performance*
 - (1 1 1 2)Two Germany's*
 - (1 1 2)England*
 - (1 1 3)USA*
 - (1 1 4)Chechoslovakia*
 - (1 1 5)Finland*
 - (1 1 6)Japan*
 - (1 1 7)Iron Curtain Countries*
 - (1 1 8)Greece*
 - (1 1 9)South Africa*
 - (1 1 10)USSR*
- (1 2)World War
 - (1 2 1)Cold War
- (1 3)Federations/associations
- (1 4)Nationalism - nation states
- (1 5)Nazism
- (1 6)IOC
- (1 7)NOCs
 - (1 7 1)Reich Olympic Committee*
 - (1 7 1 1)The Berlin stadium*
- (1 8)Eurocentrism
- (1 9)Olympic Games
 - (1 9 1)1906 Athens*
 - (1 9 2)1912 Stockholm*
 - (1 9 3)1916 Berlin*
 - (1 9 4)1928 Amsterdam*
 - (1 9 5)1932 Los Angeles*
 - (1 9 6)1936 Berlin*
 - (1 9 7)1940 Helsinki*
 - (1 9 8)1948 London*
 - (1 9 9)1952 Helsinki*

(1 9 10)1956 Melbourne

(1 9 11)1960 Rome

(1 9 12)1964 Tokyo

(1 10)Congresses

(1 11)Criticisms

(1 12)Arts

(1 13)press

(1 14)Olympic Charter

(1 15)Other movements

(1 16)Suggestions

(1 17)Spectators

(1 18)Imperialism

(1 19)expansion

(2)Olympism

(2 1)Definitions

(2 2)Origins

(2 2 1)Hellenism

(2 2 2)England

(2 2 3)oath

(2 2 4)Pax Romana

(2 3)Mission/ interests

(2 4)Symbols

(2 4 1)Olympic Flame

(2 4 1 1)Torch relay

(2 5)sport

(2 5 1)sport for all

(2 6)mottoes

(2 7)Coubertin

(2 8)Olympic Idea

(3)Olympic values

(3 1)Participation of women

(3 2)amateurism/professionalism

(3 3)Social classes

- (3 4)universalism
- (3 5)multiculturalism
- (3 6)mind and body
- (3 7)chivalry
- (3 8)beauty
- (3 9)ethics and morality
- (3 10)peace
- (3 11)fair play
- (3 12)Truce
- (3 13)Race
- (3 14)Internationalism
- (3 15)specialisation
- (3 16)Olympic athlete
- (3 17)humanity
- (3 18)commercialism
- (3 19)equality of sports
- (3 20)records/medals
- (3 21)materialism
- (3 22)militarism
- (3 23)perfection
- (3 24)friendship
- (3 25)measure

APPENDIX IV

FINAL FORM OF THE RESEARCH PROTOCOL INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC ACADEMY (IOA) DATA 1961-1998

Main Categories:

- I. Olympic Movement
- II. Olympism
- III. Olympic values

Index Tree

(1)Olympic Movement

- (1 1)International relations
 - (1 1 1)Germany*
 - (1 1 2)USSR*
 - (1 1 3)USA*
 - (1 1 4)Greece*
- (1 2)Federations
- (1 3)Cold War
 - (1 3 1)Wars*
 - (1 3 1 1)post World War II*
- (1 4)Olympic Congresses
- (1 5)IOC
- (1 6)NOCs
- (1 7)Modern sport
 - (1 7 1)sport for all*
- (1 8)Nationalism
- (1 9)critiques/obstacles
 - (1 9 1)contradictions and paradoxes*
- (1 10)Olympic Games
 - (1 10 1)1936 Berlin*
 - (1 10 2)1980 Moscow*
 - (1 10 3)Helsinki 1952*
- (1 11)Mass Media
 - (1 11 1)Press*
 - (1 11 2)TV*
- (1 12)strengths/success
- (1 13)recommendations

(2)Olympism

- (2 1)Definitions
- (2 2)Ancient Greece - Hellenism
- (2 3)Coubertin
- (2 4)England
 - (2 4 1)Muscular Christianity*

- (2 5)Aestheticism
 - (2 5 1)*arts*
- (2 6)Olympic symbols
- (3)Olympic values
 - (3 1)Social classes
 - (3 2)Women's position
 - (3 3)Amateurism
 - (3 3 1)*professionalism*
 - (3 4)Universalism
 - (3 5)Multiculturalism
 - (3 5 1)*Cultural relativism*
 - (3 5 2)*Cultural Imperialism*
 - (3 6)Internationalism
 - (3 7)Peace
 - (3 8)religion
 - (3 8 1)*Christianity*
 - (3 8 2)*Islam*
 - (3 9)Ethics-morality
 - (3 10)Fair Play/Fairness
 - (3 11)Friendship
 - (3 12)Olympic athlete
 - (3 13)commercialism
 - (3 13 1)*materialism*
 - (3 13 2)*TV rights*
 - (3 13 3)*Coca Cola*
 - (3 14)doping
 - (3 15)violence
 - (3 16)gigantism
 - (3 17)Humanism
 - (3 18)Race
 - (3 19)mind and body
 - (3 20)Records/victory/excellence
 - (3 20 1)*citius-altius-fortius*
 - (3 20 2)*medals*
 - (3 21)all sports

(3 22)Harmonious development

(3 23)Oath

(3 24)taking part

(3 25)Solidarity

(3 26)team spirit

(3 27)Truce

(3 28)Freedom

(3 29)wholeness

(3 30)autonomy

(3 31)environmentalism

(3 32)uniformity